

A
HISTORY OF
PERSIAN LANGUAGE & LITERATURE
AT THE MUGHAL COURT
WITH A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE GROWTH
OF URDU LANGUAGE
[BĀBUR to AKBAR]

PART II - HUMĀYŪN

BY

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HUMĀYŪN SEATED ON HIS THRONE AT ĀGRA

[From an album of highly finished portraits of the Mughal emperors of Hindūstān]

A

HISTORY OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE & LITERATURE AT THE MUGHAL COURT

PART II—HUMĀYŪN

CHAPTER I

After Babur's death which took place at Agra, his eldest son Humayun ascended the throne in

Humayun's accession to the throne. 937 A.H. The court poets composed congratulatory poems of which the following chronogram was cleverly

Congratulatory poems devised, mourning in one end the same breath for Babur's death and exulting at Humayun's accession to the throne

۱۔ خسروان سے باہر کہ داشت
دو صد ہلکہ ملکہ ۲۔

۳۔ ۴۔ ۵۔ ۶۔ ۷۔ ۸۔

خو طو مزار صرس احل کرد طے

۹۔ ۱۰۔ ۱۱۔ تاریخ اے دل بکو

عطا یون بہ وارب ملک وے

¹ Mura Aliud-daula Qarwati, Nafīs al-Ma'ārif (abridged)
B.M. MSS., Or. 1761 fol. 27a

The practice of composing chronograms on memorable occasions was rapidly gaining popularity

Popularity of chronograms a noteworthy feature of his reign in the history of Persian poetry in India among the writers of the Indian courts Even poets who had migrated from Persia, Turkistān, and Trans-Caspian Provinces, were taking a fancy for same and introducing subtleties in their compositions with artful devices in the use of words and their meanings

Another chronogram that was composed and presented to him was the following:

مهمد، همایون بزرگ دیده
که «یرالا، اونا» ... اندور ملک
جو فرمد نمی پادشاهی شد.
شمس سال قارب هم «یرالا، اونا

Muhammad Humāyūn, the fortunate King,
Who is the best of kings in their line ;
When on the throne of Empire he sat,

The year of his accession was *Khair-ul-muluk* (the best of kings)

Again when Humayun defeated Sultan Bahadur Gujarati in a pitched battle at Mandasur near Melwa the following qat'a was composed to commemorate the date of this victory

ہمایوں شاہ عازی آنکھ اور است

هزاران بندہ حوش ~ ۱۵۷۵ م حدو

شروعی حوش امد سوتے گھر رات

بہادر حوش ذلیل و خوار گر دید

(تیر ۱۱)

شده تاریخم آن دل بہادر

Humayun is king Ghazi and more

Thousands of slaves like Jamshid him serve

In victory when he came to Gujarat,

Triumphed the pride of Timur's race,

Bahadur when fell so low and in disgrace,

The date was found in zill : Bahadur

(Bahadur's disgrace).

Similarly when the fort of Champāner was subdued by Humayun's forces the following verse was composed by the court poets in attendance

ناریخم طفیر یا نش شاہ ہمایوں

می ~ م حدو یافت نہ شہر صفر بود

¹ Ibid. p. 346.

² Ibid. p. 347

The date of Humāyūn's gaining victory,
Wisdom sought and found in 'nuh i Shahr i
Safar hūd' (it was the 9th of Safar)

This chronogram is most ingeniously devised since its very words tell the date and the month, while the year is to be found in the numerical value of its letters. Such niceties in the art of composition date from the reign of Humāyūn, and were developed in the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāhjahān, and Aurangzēb.

He was born at Cābul of Bābur's first wife, Māham Bēgum, in 913 A. H., which is synchronous

with Bābur's adoption of the title His birth and education of Pādishāh. The date of his birth was found by many poets in their metrical compositions, of which the following is from the pen of Bābur's trusted noble Khwāja Kalān.

سال مولود، ۹۱۳ هجری
ردنک الله دوالی قدر ا
مردہ ام یادِ اہ ارتضیتے نی
قا کشم میل دو، چشم دل را

It is the year of the birth of Humāyūn Shāh,
May God increase thy rank and dignity,
I have carried off one 'alif' from his
chronogram,
So that I may apply with it collyrium to the
two eyes of the evil.

¹ Naqsh 'Alī, Tazkira i Bāgh i Ma'āni (abridged and bound with Nafā'is ul Ma'āṣir), B M MSS Or 1761, fol. 151b

² This means that the chronogram is short by 1

Short phrases also as was customary with poets on such occasions were ingeniously constructed giving the date of his birth to indicate his future greatness and kingly career. Some of those are as follows

شہزادہ	[Sultân Hümâyûn Khân]
پیر فریض	[Shah Firuz Qadr]
پادشاھ سف شیخان	[Padishâh Saf Shikan]
خوش باد	[Khush Bâd]

In his early youth he was trained under the fostering care of his father's learned secretaries Khwâja

Wâning, Intâqî, of Turki at his Court, and his liking for Persian in contrast to his father's.

Kalân and Shaikh Zainuddin. His father also paid personal attention to his education and used to correct in his letters mistakes of spelling and diction every now and then.

While quite young he developed a taste for Mathematics and Astronomy in the association of Shaikh Abul Qasim Astrabadi, Mullâ Noruddin and the celebrated astronomer Maulâna Ilyâs. He seemed to have little liking for Turki and employed it on few occasions only. The rapidly dwindling influence of Turki at his court is clearly noticeable. While Babur had tried all his life to raise the status of Turki Hümâyûn in inverse ratio neglected it from deference to the feelings of the Persians at his court, as well as his own liking for Persian.

¹ M o Ahs of Babur Vol II, p 624.

² Yâzid, Tarikh Hümâyûn, 10 MSS No 223 fol 24b.

³ Akbar N ma, Vol I, p 223.

B abn 1, Vol III, p 181

The only instances of his Turki composition that could be discovered are the following

(i) A few letters that he wrote to his father

(ii) Occasional verses that he composed of which, however, no trace could be found, except of one which is preserved in his name as follows

من کہ دل مل ایک کلی دین کو دے ام ایک دیا
اوٹ سالیں تور سادا، نارہ کر بک دلہ

The occasions on which he appreciated Turki verses were also few.

"After my presentation I offered the Emperor a small gift and a chronogram upon the conquest of India - also two *ghazals*, all of which pleased the Pādishāh greatly ""¹

"About the same time Āgra fell into the hands of the Pādishāh I immediately wrote a chronogram for the occasion which found much favour. The incident furnished the material for a 'ghazal' with which the sovereign was so delighted that he called me a second Mir 'Ali Shir ""²

¹ Nafā'is u Ma'āsir, B M MSS, Or 1761, fol 40a

² A Vambery, Travels and Adventures of Sidi 'Ali Re'sls, p 47, London, 1899

³ Ibid., pp 49-50

Even in his private conversations he used Turki rarely. On two occasions he spoke it merely with the object that his other courtiers might not understand him. One such occasion was at the blinding of Kamran. When Ali Dost, a trusted servant of Humayun came to give him certain news about it with a view to take his further instructions in the matter Humayun was surrounded by people and this was apparently why the servant chose to communicate the object of his visit in Turki, saying

بِهَوَادِ هَلْكَهِ سَيِّمْ كَسْمِيٍّ زَاهِرٌ^۱

Nobody does this work

whereupon Humayun abusing him said

اَبْنِي قَلْتَاقِ سُنْ فَانَهْ بُولْبُ تُورْ سُنْ^۲

What is wrong with thee do it thyself

The other occasion was when on account of the scarcity of water and the monopoly of the available well by Tardi Beg the entire menial staff had conspired against him and made their complaint to Humayun. Humayun thereupon rode up to Tardi Beg and spoke to him in Turki merely to avoid his being understood

¹ I. e. Tarkist ul waqifat, B.M. MSS Add. 16,711 fol.

123b.

Ibid.

by others, thereby to keep the prestige of the Khān
in the eyes of those present intact

جون آپ نے راہ سے بھی دندل کو اپنے زماں کر دیا۔
حکومت بادا، اہ آمدہ عرض دو دندل کہ تردی دیگر ناہیں
و ترانہ دو آپ داد..... پادا، اہ او رامانع نہ ہوںدے الہ باڑ
درگ خواہیم کر دیا۔۔۔ کشہ خواہیم نہیں یا آپ میگریم
جون حسرت داد دندل کہ تراہ۔۔۔ دو اعلیٰ شد دو اور تند دی
ملوک۔ و نہ بڑا جاد آمد دندل و سرمان ترکی گھنٹے غلامان
حیال دوں دار دندل مودم دوں رائیں سام۔۔۔ ار آپ گھومن
مانع شو۔۔۔

Since water was not being had in sufficient quantity the menial staff of His Majesty coming before him gave vent that Tardī Bēg supplied water to his own horses and camels . . . , the King should stop him, otherwise we would fight with him At the most we might be killed or get water. When His Majesty knew that it would lead to evil, he mounted his horse and rode up to the top of the well, and said in Turki language, "the servants are discontented. Stop your men drawing water for an hour."

A similar instance occurred when a servant wished to say that a certain Mughal captive had used unworthy language in respect of Humāyūn's person, and should on that account be beheaded :

¹ Ibid, fol. 51b

اک مثل بدل بدست میرزا للی حولی القادر کا برداشت او
 رحم - حکم بود گردنہ مدر گھر، ت پادشاه اور دیوان
 ترکی عرض کرد کہ اس نے انکس استد کہ وصہرت
 پادشاه ناسرا گئے بود فرموند کہ بھرائی خود ر
 است -

A Moghal on whose face there was a deep wound fell into the hands of Mirza Quli Chohi Having arrested him he brought him to the court of His Majesty and said in Turkic language that the captive was that person who used unworthy language in respect of the Padishah His Majesty replied that the wretch had received his reward

One instance of his voluntarily employing Turks while speaking to a Turk is as follows

دو من رومی در مزار دوںند کے بھرپور پادشاه
 سلام کریں حضرت فرموند کہ من نے دعا نہ یعنی ازما
 پادشاه روم دعا نہ ایساں گاؤں کہ کوز اوجم یعنی
 - ۴۷

Two persons of Rūm were in the market They saluted His Majesty His Majesty replied min dan du a dih i.e from me to the king of Rūm convey greetings. They rejoined kiz ou cham i.e heartily or with great pleasure

¹ Ibid., fol. 66a.
 Ibid. fol. 82a.

CHAPTER II

While for Turki he seems to have had an aversion, for Persian he had a special liking. He encouraged it at his court and himself employed it on all public and private occasions. His taste for Persian poetry He also compiled a 'diwān' using *Humāyūn* as his pen-name. His best poetry is to be found in his 'ghazal.'

• *Ghazal*. Some specimens are as follows:

غزل

کار من نامه هو / افتاده است
 در درویم آتشی افتاده است
 خاتمه ام و شن / دل از روی جمی
 پر تو / ارمه هو شن افتاده است
 دل مرا ای / ان دهر / دمی کرد
 تا دلم نا دلکشی افتاده است
 کام دل فرام گردتن این زمان
 جون دل دتم سر دل افتاده است
 هدل و دلش ار من سر دیدای همان
 جون دل دل دین بیرون افتاده است

^۱ Abul Faiz testifies to its presence in the royal library : Cf. *دیوان آم خیرت هر چنان عالی موجود* (and His Majesty's *diwān* exists in the royal library) [Akbar Nāma, Vol I, p 868]

^۲ *Nafā'is ul Ma'āṣir*, B.M MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 39a.

With a beautiful maid my lot has fallen
 Within my heart a fire has fallen
 My house is lit with the face of the loved
 From the beauteous moon (beloved) a ray has
 fallen

In every way my heart O life draws me
 Since my heart to a ravisher of heart has
 fallen

The object of my heart I'll seize now
 While to my hand dizzy delight has fallen
 Sense and wit in me seek not beloved
 While Humsyūn in ecstasy has fallen

مکد از دل سر گسته ناول - ۲ -
 درسد برس دل - ۲ - لدت المس
 و تهد کستن عساق اگر کند مطلع
 خوب نماید از اخلاص و سرو کرم
 کرا است رفته قرب حرمین عرب او
 که حضرتیل امس - ۲ - رم حرم
 مرا محویت او در نالی سی نماید
 و سادی دوچهار بپتو اسب درد و عس
 اگر هزار ن عساق می نهدند قدمی
 هزار حان گرامی نداش هر قدمی

The arrow of his tyranny pierced my
 bewildered heart,
 My wounded heart has tasted the sweetness
 of the pang of his love

If for the killing of lovers he shows an
inclination,
It is not strange from the demands of his
generosity and sincere feeling ;
Who has the courage' to go near the shrine
of his glory ?
When Gabriel—the trusted—is not the
confidant thereunto ;
In his love the joy of my heart grows too
great,
Pain and grief for him are better than the
joys of earth and heaven ;
If to inquire after lovers he may put a step,
A thousand dignified souls be sacrificed at
every step of his

لعل سو بربان ^و
آئیه در بدان حان ^و
عمر که ناید دهستان رمان
بیکوه ار دزه و خان ^و
ادهه در وصه جهن او گویند
لهه در هرم و در دیان ^و

^۱ Literally, 'gall-bladder'

^۲ Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, fol 39b

Cf. another similar ode with but slight difference in 'qāfiya'

داعه ق شو بدان ^و خاتم اهل تو ^و نیم ^و
تاشه قم چو خاک درود آو دشت نام تاک رسین ^و ها
هوكها خاه و شاهزاده بود این رمل سنه کوین ما ^و
معه مکنیں سمنه گلfram آیت (۵۰) نیم سه ^و

The praise of thy ruby is on my tongue
 A fire is within my soul
 Whoever might happen to be in the assembly
 of the abondonnes
 Is beside himself by my cry and lament
 Whatever they say in the praise of his
 beauty
 All is contained in my expression and
 comment.

خوب آنکه با خالق عزیز ۱ : بودم
 و سوی سر نمودت از بایه ۲ : بودم
 عزم مکن که گلشم رلک ترا پریسل
 در سرچ حعد رلک حون دل ۳ : بودم
 وی سری من که دیدی بر سیده ۴ : حالت
 از حس تا نتاکت بسیار ۵ : بودم
 در سر ۶ : او هر گز نگلک حریم
 لب را دران حکایت بموسسه ۷ : بودم
 خلا که حون عما، دن در حال وصل ۸ : بودم
 با دوست در حکایت از طویس رنگه بودم

Happy the recollection when the greater
 part of my life I had sat in thy thought,
 And in search of thy cypress like stature
 my feet were sore

Do not find fault with me that I called thy
lock ' disorderly,'
Since in commenting on thy curly lock I
was broken-hearted;
Last night when thou looked at me and
inquired after my condition,
I felt much crushed and dazed by thy
beaming eyes;
In explanation of his bud, my lip did never
utter a word,
I had kept it always shut in that tale,
By God out of wits like Humāyūn in union
with the beloved,
In relating my tale to my friend I had
gone beside myself.

ای دل هم ن ای بارابر چیز رهی
دلم دل دل دل دل دل دل دل دل
که که که که که که که که که
دش دش دش دش دش دش دش دش

'Ruba'i'

O heart, show no restlessness before the rival,
Divulge not to any physician the condition of
thy heart;
Thy work that has fallen with that practiser of
tyranny,
Is a hard tale and a curious affair.

¹ Ibid , fol 4a

مِنْ حَانْ بَنْدَهَا اولادِ عَلِيٍّ
 شادَهَا يَادِ عَلِيٍّ
 حُونَ سَرَ لَابِتَ ازْ عَلِيٍّ ظَاهِرٌ سَدَ
 كَرْدِيْمَ دَوْدَ خُودَ يَادِ عَلِيٍّ

We are from our hearts slaves to the
 regency of Ali

We are ever happy in the memory of Ali
 Since the mystic's secret is revealed

through Ali

We always recalled the memory of Ali.

بَارِبَ بَكَالِ اَهْ حَاصِمَ گُرْدَانِ
 وَالَّذِيْنَ اَيْقَنَ حَوَامِمَ گُرْدَانِ
 اَزْ مَلِ حَلَّا كَارِ دَلِ اَنْكَارِ - دَمِ
 دَبَرَانَهَ خُودَ خُوانِ، حَلَاصِمَ گُرْدَانِ

O God with Thy plentiful grace select me
 for Thy nearness
 Make me acquainted with the secrets of Thy
 chosen people

* Fariahnā, Vol. I, p. 446

NOTE.—The word *سَلَم* in the last hemistich seems to be a misprint for *سَلَمَ* which is more appropriate and is in accordance with the rules of prosody as having a needless repetition of the word *سَلَم* which occurs twice in the quatrain. But as the first reading is found in some other works also besides Fariahnā, the same is not erased here in the text.

* Akbar Nama, Vol. I, p. 435 (Newal Kitabkhana edition, 1224 A.H.).

Through my tyrannic wisdom my heart was
rent,
Call me Thy mad lover, and free me from all
cares.

ای دل ر حسرو یارِ وری کن
در خدمت او سدق دل وری کن
هر تر بیمهیال دوست هرمیں
هر دو سوصل یاد سو وری کن

O heart, reap success from the presence of
the beloved,
Burn your heart in all sincerity in his service :
Every night sit jubilant in the thought of
thy friend,
Every day celebrate a new year's day in
union with him.

۱۲ آدکه همی سو دعالم ام ام ام
دوری که ستم سه دینم از سو سام ا
ترم که را ار ترم چرخ دل
مارا جو زم هم سو تائید چه زم ام ام

O thou whose tyranny is well-known all
the world over,
The day on which I do not experience
severity from thee is severe ,
Whatever grief reaches the heart from the
oppression of the sky,

¹ Farishta, Vol. I, p 446

² Akbar Nāma, Vol I, p 368

I care not for so long as I have the grief
of thy love in me

اے انکہ زیادت تو دلم بasd ساد
بی یاد تو خاطرم دھے ساد مساد
رلہیکہ) یاد تو کلم صد فریاد
آنا) من غمزہاب آید یاد

O thou from whose memory my heart
gains joy
Without thy memory my soul no joy can know
The day that in thy memory a hundred
cries I raise
Come to thee of me the grief-stricken
remembrance ?

Once in his appeal to Kamran for peace he
subscribed the following verses purporting that for
every drop of blood spilt Kamran would be answer-
able before God on the day of judgment

بود طوں آں قوم در گردش
بود دست آں جمع در ڈامنے
ھان بہ کہ بر مسلم رائے اوری
طربق مروت بھائے اوری

¹ Nafis al Ma'ayir B.M. MS. 1761, fol. 40a.
Akbar Nama, Vol. I, p. 278.

Cf. Kamran's blunt reply to Humayun a generous appeal
مدرس ملک کسی در گزیر گزیر تک کے یونے بڑ لب فسیروں آپر مدد
He alone holds fast the bride of kingdom
Who is the tip of the sharp wood.

(Farista, Vol. I, p. 351.)

The blood of that people hangs on thy neck,
 The hand of that band is on thy skirt ;
 Better is that thou decidest on peace,
 And sheweth the manner of kindness and
 generosity.

An instance of his composing *masnawi* is to be found in one of his letters which he addressed to 'Masnawi' Bairām Khān on the occasion of the conquest of Qandhār :

دار تھا رزق دوی وہ کہ دل ڈوست اور دکشود
 کر الہ کہ نار شہادیم سوچ یار و دوست حبہ ایم
 دیونہ داع ہم را جیلیم دن دان را کام دل دیدیم
 دوڑ سوڑ دیم ایم ایم ایم ایم ایم ایم
 اد ماد ایم ایم ایم ایم ایم ایم ایم ایم
 ایم ایم ایم ایم ایم ایم ایم ایم ایم ایم
 کہ جمال ہی کے دیم گوش خرم ٹوہ زگہ قارت
 در ریم ایم ایم ایم ایم ایم ایم ایم ایم
 وعد اذان کار ہند کنتم
 هر در دن گہ کنتم اداه ٹوہ
 ادیہ واهیم اور ہمان ورمیں
 ڈو ہبائی را ہرم گردان یا الہی میسزم گردان

Again a victory showed its face from
 Invisibility
 That the hearts of friends cheered to see it
 Thanks be to God that we are again happy
 And we smile on the faces of companions and
 friends
 We saw our enemies with the object of their
 heart achieved
 We plucked the fruit of the garden of victory
 To-day is the Bairam a New Year's day
 The heart of friends is without a grief to-day
 The heart of the dear one be ever happy
 Grief may not go near to his heart, nor to
 his native town
 All the requisite material for comfort is ready
 My heart is anxious for union with thee
 When would it be that I see the beauty of
 the loved one
 When would I pluck the flower of the garden
 of union with him
 When should my ear become happy in
 listening to thy speech
 And my eye lighted through seeing thy face
 In the sanctuary of thy presence happy
 together
 We sit cheerful and without a grief
 After this we turn our care to the affairs of
 India
 Resolved to subdue the kingdom of Sindh
 Every door that is shut will be opened
 Whatever we wished more than that shall
 we gain

And to what we desire from ' time ' and
 ' earth,'

The trusty ' amīn ' Gabriel will say ' amen ' ,
 O God, make it our lot
 Both the worlds be subdued to us

He had also subscribed as a post-script the following quatrain of his ready composition on the margin

۱۲ - آنکہ ادھس حاہر، مہرودی
 جوں طبم لایو، جویں تیں مورودی
 کے یاد سو دیں قم رمانے ہرگز
 آیا سو دیاد من مہریں جویں

O thou, who art the consoler of the grieved heart,
 Like thine own pure disposition thou art well-balanced ;
 Without thy recollection I am not for a moment,
 How art thee in the recollection of a grieved one like me ?

¹ Ibid Cf Barām Khān's reply

اے آنکہ ندات سائیں یادی ار ہرچھ ترا دستہ کنم ادھونی

جوں میدانی کے دی تو چوں گورہ جوں میسری کے در دو اقم جویں

O thou, who art in person the shadow of the Incomparable,
 Thou art more than whatever I praise thee with ,
 Since thou knowest how I pass my time without thee,
 Why dost thou ask how I fare in thy separation ?

"One day the emperor planned a little excursion on horse-back to visit the graves of the holy Sheikhs of Lahore, and I accompanied him. We visited the graves of Shah poets. <sup>His abd. b.
tion of P. 1318</sup> Qutbeddin the Pir of Delhi of Sheikh Nizam Wali Sheikh Ferid Shekr-Ghendj Mir Khoaru Dehlevi and Mir Husein Dehlevi. When the conversation turned upon the poetical works of Mir Khoaru I quoted some of his best poems and under their influence I conceived a most telling distich. I turned to the emperor saying It would be presumption on my part to measure my powers against those of Mir Khoaru but he has inspired me and I would fain recite my couplet before your Majesty Let us hear it, said Humayun and I recited the following

هر کہ قائم شد سک ناں بارہ مرد مہترست
کلراو از ~ ۱۴ ساعان عالم بھرست

¹ Sidi Ali Reza-Mirat ul Mamlik p. 33, Iqdam Press,
Stambal, 1318 A. H.
Cf. KI ^{as-sa'ibah} verses

کوس کھ ملیں دیکھ لٹلائیں ہوہ سر لے
و، کہ کلچ مدد ہے ک، بر کھ بھر، بُ اے
مرد پلہل ہو گئے پسیں ماتم اے
نیخ نکتہ ہو نیا سے پلٹھ لکھر اے

Truly great is he who became contented with
his daily bread,
Better is his affair than all the kings of the
earth.

'By God,' cried the monarch, 'this is truly sublime.' ¹

On one occasion Humāyūn quoted Nizāmi in a letter to Prince Akbar, reprimanding him for his playing truant:

عاقل مهشیں نہ وہ ناچسیں...
وہ کار اے، اے، اے، اے،

Don't sit idly, 'Tis not the time for play,
'Tis time for acquiring skill and doing work.

He had also inscribed in his own handwriting the following verse of Shaikh Azari on a niche of the arch of his palace :

ام کہ دریں طارم ۰۰ احمد و احمد...
خاتم کہ عالم... کار جواہر محتسب

I have heard that on this golden vault there is,
An inscription which is the end of the work
of all Mahmūds.

¹ A Vambery, Travels and Adventures of Sidi 'Ali Re'is,
p 54

² Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p 816

³ Ibid, p 868



HUMAYUN WITH HIS PET HAWK AND THE
YOUNG PRINCE AKRAB
[Exhibit 1911 Exhibition Allahabad]

From his own verses which include almost all principal kinds of poetry except qasida and qita¹

his position as a poet of the Persian

Estimate of his poetic talents (poetic than that of an average poet) language is clearly established. In his rubai and ghazal while behind no one he stands ahead of many of his contemporaries. The chief feature of

his style is the clearness of expression which pervades all his writings, and his words are always few simple and compact.

¹ One instance of qasida as found in some Persian works like the *Azmatnama*, p. 29 (edited by Bland, London, 1846), and the *Majmalat*, p. 112, is as follows. This he is said to have written to Shah Tahmasp after his arrival to Persia:

میرزا میرزا میرزا میرزا
و میرزا میرزا میرزا میرزا
کنیت میرزا میرزا میرزا
خوش طبع میرزا میرزا میرزا
دستم خیر است و من بخوبی خوبی خوبی
لهملا چو دوست بخوبی خوبی خوبی
دارم از اینه اشیا از اینه اشیا

It may be noted that the last line with but slight variation occurs in Bahman Sivasi's qita as follows:

آبیده آبیده آبیده آبیده
و میرزا میرزا میرزا میرزا

Also, he is said to have sent to the Shah a rubai of which only one line could be traced as under:

نهانی همه سایه های من خواهد بکری لامی

To this the Shah's reply was the following:

نهانی اون سایه های من اند اگر ترا کفری خو ملک ما اند

Once during his flight to Persia, Mullā Hairati,
a poet of Trans-Caspian Province,
presented him with a 'ghazal' of which
the opening lines ran thus

His poetic insight corrects
Hairati and Jahāl¹

دل ارْمَقِ تان گه حکوم میورد
تَقْ هر لَهْلَخ دلاغ دَگْرَم میورد
همه و برواده ده شروع سروکار ایمه
که اگر بیس دوم سال و زرم میورد

Sometimes the heart burns with the love of
the beautiful, sometimes the liver,
Love every second burns me with a fresh scar ;
Like the moth I have my affair with a candle
lamp,

That if I go further, my wing and feather
burn.

Humāyūn improving on the last hemistich put it
as follows.

میورم بیش اگر سال و زرم میورد

¹ Both were notable poets of Persian language and received favours from Humāyūn. The latter having entered into his service at Cābul accompanied him to India, and remained here till his death which occurred in 956 A. H. For a fuller account of his life and verses refer Badāuni, Vol I, pp 477—480

² Bā Yazid, Tārīkh i Humāyūn, I O MSS No 223, fol 12b

On another occasion he improved on Jashī ¹ atmi
yān of Bukhārā, who had entered his service at
Cábul. The former had composed a satire on
Muhammad khān Shāpūr and was asked by Humayūn
to read it before the assembly in which Muhammad
khān also was present. When the poet recited the
following verses

ساعرہ عالمہ ، طلیں دو گے^۱
مرد کو کہ سا عزم
ای انکس کہ اُل سوا رہ،
ھر کہ بامہ دو گے

I am the poet of the King Humayūn and am
the dust of his court,
The star of the banner of my poetry taunts
the moon
Alas for him who picks a quarrel with the
band of poets,
Whoever quarrels with us quarrels with
calamity

Humayūn at once remarked

حر ا محسن ، گوئی "ھر کہ بامہ"
"و،

Why dost thou not say so whoever quarrels
with us quarrels with God ?

¹ Ratiqat, Vol. I p. 477

² Ibid.

He has been often referred to by Jauhar and Mīrzā 'Alā'uddaula Qazwīnī as reading the Qur'ān

His knowledge of Arabic and also quoting from memory several verses from same on various occasions

Once on gaining victory over the Afghāns he recited the verse

اَللّٰهُمَّ انْلٰهِ الْيَوْمَ اَحْيٰنَا

Praise be to Him Who brought us to life

On another occasion he quoted from the Traditions as follows

مَنْ حَرَّكَ اللّٰهُمَّ قَدْ قَعَ دِيرٌ

He who dug a pit for his brother, verily himself fell into it

Some more instances are to be found in the works of contemporary authors like Bā-Yazid and Jauhar. They show to a certain extent his knowledge in Arabic as well as his taste for religious literature

From his very childhood he evinced a taste for Mathematics, History, Geography, and Astronomy,

His taste for Mathematics, History, Geography, and Astronomy and took regular lessons on these branches of Science from Shaikh Abul Qāsim Astrābādī, and Maulānā Ilyās.

¹ Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, B M MSS , Or 1761, fol 37a

² ۱۷۶۱، تذکیرۃ ال وسیعات، ب م MSS ، Add. 16، 711 fol
78b

و در هم امسال فرمی عالمان نام سخ ابوالقاسم
 استراحتی که هله ریاضی را محبوب میداد^۱ ب صادر سده
 بود و حضرت ۲۶۰ م خواسته (بسیار می
 کردند) ۳۰۰ اینکه قرار داده بودند که ساکرہ او سولن
 و سقی بخوانند و آخر مسح قرار داده علی فرمودند و
 ۴۰۰ م مسار الله در لد سماهیان در آمدند در هند بعثت
 محبوب سرفراز^۲ ب -

And in this very year the royal mandate in
 the name of Shaikh Abul Qasim Astrabadi
 who knew the science of Mathematics well
 had been issued And His Majesty had
 resolved to become his pupil and take lessons
 from him, and at last His Majesty according
 to his resolution acted And the abovenamed
 scientist, having entered into His Majesty's
 service in the link of soldiers, was installed
 in a good 'fagir' in India.

Abul Fazl and Farishta write thus

۵۰۰- لم علوم ریاضی او را در راست را پایه بلند بود
 و صواری^۱ از باب ۴۰۰ م محبوب میداد^۲ و مبتلازان
 علم ریاضی در پایه سریز و الا کامیاب سعادت بودند

^۱ Bk Yerd, Tarikh-i-Hamayan, L.O. MSS. ۲۲۳, fol. ۲۴b

^۲ Akber Name, Vol. I, p. 963.

And in the branches of Mathematics His Majesty ranked high and he always associated with scientists and those distinguished in Mathematics had the boon of attending at the foot of the sublime throne.

و در علم ریاضی کلم مهارت می افراست ملک ارسلان
ما نیز اون سعادت یون و وقت در محکمین او مسائل علمی
ملک کور می داشت -

And in the science of Mathematics he lifted up the banner of skill. His social intercourse was based with the learned and the accomplished , and at all times in his assembly scientific problems were discussed.

In history he appears to have been conversant with the Muslim periods of different countries specially India, Central Asia, and Arabia. Once he related a historical anecdote of Mahmūd of Ghaznī's army to serve as a lesson to his own men purporting that honesty is the key to success.¹

— Also, he transcribed in his own handwriting his father's autobiography ‘*Wāqi'at i Bāburi*’ from the beginning to the end. This would have

¹ Farishta, Vol. I, p 459

* Cf the statement

خوب ت پادشاه ایشان حکایت نوردم خود اظہار کردد کے نیت (۱) اپنے بیان
خوب ت پادشاه ایشان حکایت نیت اماں صادق یود عالم قائم اور (۲) کم کم یاد کر
Jauhar, Tazkirat ul Wāqi'at, B.M., MSS Add. 16711, fol. 105b |

certainly given him an insight into the social and political relations of the contemporary Central Asian States. He also developed a taste for Geography and had globes constructed for his use.

بِسْ كَرَمِ رَحْمَةِ رَبِّنَا وَبِدُعَى
بِحَالِمَهْ دَوْلَهْ قَوْعَدَهْ بَرَهْ

So the globes of the earth and the water had been set up and the divisions of the habitable quarter into seven regions accomplished.

His tutors in Astronomy were Mulla Nadrudin and Maulana Ilyas. The keen interest which he

took in this branch of science is significant as compared with his father's as well as with that of his successors in India. Bâbur and pre-Bâbur Mughals (with the exception of Ulugh Beg) down to his own time apparently had little faith or

¹ Akbar Nama, Vol. I, p. 361

Son of Shah Rukh and grandson of Timur had been appointed as governor of Mâzarâ-i-Nâkr during his father's lifetime. He was a devoted student of Astronomy, Mathematics, and Philosophy and a patron of those interested in scientific subjects. During his governorship he got built at Samrân an Observatory which was called after his name. He also marked the position of stars and recorded his observations in a separate volume known as *Zât Ulugh Beg* (or Ulugh Beg's Almanac). Dabir Shah has given a glorious account of Ulugh Beg's scientific

knowledge in things astrological. He got built a 'Khargāh' (a tent) which was divided into twelve halls of audience, each of which was named after one of the twelve constellations of stars. The furniture and paintings of these halls, as also the dresses of the servants, bore emblematic symbol of the planets :

وَارِدٌ مُّرْعَاتٌ شَرْعَاتٌ دُودٌ
كَهْ سَعْدَنْ دُزْجَ سَبْحَرْ مَشْهُولْ دُزْ دُوارَدَهْ ... دُودَهْ
هَرْ سَرْهَهْ مَشْهُولْ نَرْ بَرْهَهْ هَا كَهْ اسْوَارْ كَوَاكَهْ . دَوْلَهْ اَرْ
قَهْمَهَا . اَنْ بَانَانْ دُونْ وَرْ كَاهْهَهْ دِيْگَهْ مَادَنَهْ فَلَالَهْ لَالَّالَانْ
دَمْ دَوْلَهْ اَنْ فَرْكَاهْ رَا اَهْ اَهْ دُونْ دُونْ -

And of all the inventions of His Majesty was a tent which was divided, according to the number of the zodiacs of the sky, into twelve divisions. Every zodiac was divided into cages, from the holes of which the rays of the stars of Fortune shone bright. And another tent like the '*falakul aflāk*' (or the sky of skies) enveloped the sides of this tent.

activities and his great achievements in the theoretical and applied Astronomy. According to him there has appeared no monarch like 'Ulugh Beg, in the whole history of Islam [vide Tazkiratuh Shu'arā—Edited by Prof. Browne Account of 'Ulugh Beg, pp 361—6] For a description of a Calendar based on 'Ulugh Beg's system, vide Carle de Vaux's article 'Un Calendrier Turque' in Essays presented to Professor E. G. Browne, edited by T. W. Arnold and R A Nicholson.

¹ Akbar Nama, Vol. I, p 361

Also he got ready a carpet which had nine astronomical circles marked on it, each of which was named after a particular star and assigned to his courtiers according to their ranks

و از مخترعات آنکه درست سطح نساط بود و آن بسط
از دایره زمین بود بزرگ دایره اندیل و کرات عذامر داشته
اول (که ۱ دار بود) دل اطلس) د دیگر دانع
سده بود، ۵م کوه و سیوم بمناسبت حل سمه و
چهارم (که محل برخیز است) مندلی و ۷م
(که منتهی به مهرام است) لعلی و ششم (که خانه
پیر اعظم است) زریس، هفتم (که منزل فاعض است)
سیز و هشت دهم (که حایه مطار است) سوسنی
و دانش نهم (که منزل قمر است) - د اس و بعد
از دایره قمر کوکار و هوا رتبه مرتب گسته خود
به نفس نمیس دایره زریس را اختیار منظر موند و آنها
سریز آرایه خلاف دند و هر طایفه از ۱ دهانه
کواکب - ساره را در دایره (که با رای آن وضع
کرده شده) پا نمی حکم منظر موند مثلاً امراء عربی
را در دایره زحل و ساده ای و علماء را در دایره مرتی ..

End of the inventions of his Majesty was a
measure carpet, and that spherical carpet
was divided into the circles of the sky and
the globes of the Elements. The first circle

(which was attributed to ' *falak i atlas* ') was white in colour . and the second was blue ; and the third in appropriateness with Saturn was black , and the fourth (which is the resort of Jupiter) was of sandal colour , and the fifth (which is related to Mars) was of ruby colour ; and the sixth (which is the abode of the Sun) golden , and the seventh (which is the resting place of Venus) bright green , and the eighth (which is the place of Mercury) is of lily colour , and the ninth circle (which is the halt of the Moon) is white And after the circle of the moon the spheres of the fire and the air were arranged in order His Majesty for himself adopted the golden circle, and there seated himself on the throne, and every group of people, from among those assigned to the seven planets, was ordered by his Majesty to sit in a circle (which was constructed just opposite to that planet) for instance, the Indian '*Umarā*' were ordered to sit in the circle of Saturn, and the learned in that of Jupiter.

و از راید احتمالات آدمیت بونیان لباس
میر دور دود موافق رنگی که می زب دکبو^۱ دور اس-
که مرمری اوست چنانکه در دور یکدیگر از دور می
پوشیدند که سوپ نه بیرون ایام اس- و در دور دوشیده
لماں میر که مخصوص دفتر ایوب و درین قیاس -

And among the excellent inventions of his Majesty was the dress for each day in accordance with the colour attributed to the planet of that day which is its patron so that on Sunday his Majesty robed himself in yellow which is attributed to the Sun and on Monday in green which is attributed to the Moon and so on

He was also preparing to build an observatory for which necessary apparatus and the site had
 Materials ready for an ^{an} ~~use~~ ^{use} been provided but owing to his sudden death the same could not be accomplished

، آئندہ را ارادہ بستن، صورت مود، بسیارے
 از آلات، لی تریب داده بودند، چند مکانات،
 طال فرموده بودند -

And his Majesty was firmly resolved to build an observatory and had set up in under many of the instruments for same and had fixed in his mind a few sites as well.

All this taste he acquired in Indian atmosphere evidently under the influence of Hindu astrology which came into contact with Persian astrology for the first time under the patronage of a Mughal emperor Like the Pandits he believed in the efficacy of the stars and their potentiality in producing good or bad results in consequence of which

¹ Ibid. p 268

he had regulated all his actions according to the supposed influence of the twelve zodiacs and the seven planets. His keenness for astronomical researches has been further described as follows by the Turkish Admiral who was himself made to work on same, and permitted to leave India subject only to the work being finished:

“The roads are flooded and impassable,
remain therefore till the weather improves
Turkish Admiral's Meanwhile calculate Solar and
evidence Lunar Eclipses, their degree
of Latitude, and their exact
date in the Calendar. Assist our astrologers
in studying the course of the Sun, and instruct
us concerning the points of the Equator
When all this is done and the weather should
improve before three months are over, thou
shalt go hence”.... All this was said solemnly
and decisively, I had no alternative but must
submit to my fate. At last I had accom-
plished the astronomical obsevations, and
about the same time Āgra fell into the hands
of the Pādishāh.¹

A. Vambery, Travels and Adventures of Sidi 'Ali, Re'is, p 48 The part played by astrological terms in the development of the more ornate forms of later Persian is perhaps one of its most remarkable features

CHAPTER III

There were many foreign and Indian poets attached to his court. The following is a selected Poets and list of scholars including historians and poets of Persian and Hindi who received his patronage or actually entered his service in India.

1. Shaikh Amānullah Panipati
2. Shaikh Gadaī Dehlevi
3. Mir Wali
4. Shaikh Abdul Wahid Dilligāmi
5. Maulana Jalali Hindi
6. Maulana bin i Ashraf al Hussaini
7. Maulana Nadir Samarcandi
8. Mir Abdul Latif Qazwini
9. Maulana Ilyas
10. Maulana Qutbūm Kāhi
11. Maulana Junūbi
12. Shah Tahir Dakhanī
13. Shaikh Abul Wajid Farīghī Shīrāzī
14. Yusuf bin i Muhammad Hirawī
15. Khwāja Ayyub son of Khwāja Abul Barakāt
16. Maulana Muhammad Fazil Samarcandi
17. Jauhar
18. Bī Yazid

19. Maulānā Zamīrī Bilgīzī
20. Khwāja Husain Mervī
21. An unknown poet: author of an epic poem.

A short description of each is given below:

A learned Sūfi and theologian resident of Pānīpat—was one of Humāyūn's chief poets, and

S h a i k h A m a n u l l a h Pānīpati. wrote several *qasāid* in praise of him. His style is comparatively simple and his poetry sweet and full of pathos. Some specimens of his composition are as follows:

ام ار ~ دت آن لعل یئگوں
 دلے دارم سراحی دار پر چوں
 تو چوں لیلی مقیم مارت مار
 نہم آوارہ عالم چو مکھوں
 گر از تن حان سندھ رت در آید
 زدل مهرت واحد، ... بیرون
 امانی کامران در بزم پیش ایں
 سعید خسرو دوران ھمایوں

Always in fond desire for that wine-coloured
 ruby,
 I have a heart like the wine-jug full of
 blood;
 Thou like Lailā residest in the seclusion
 of daintiness,

¹ 'Ali Qulī Wālih Dāghistānī, Riyāz ush Shu'arā, B.M. MSS Add 16, 729, fol 44b

I roam the world like Majnūn
 Though the soul leaves the body with a
 hundredfold remorse
 From my heart thy love will not depart
 Amānī is happy in the assembly of pleasure
 In the reign of the king of the world

Humayūn

On Mirza Hindal's death which occurred in a night attack led by Hamrān's troops against Humayūn's camp which was situated near Sorkhāb Amānī wrote the following chronogram and presented it to his Majesty

سادھندال سر و گلپ ناز
 حرب ایش بوستان دوست رفت
 گلت تاریخ تیری نالان
 سر دے از بوستان درک رفت

Shah Hindal the cypress of the garden of
 daintiness
 When he went away from this garden of toll
 The lamenting dove uttered the date
 A cypress went away from the royal garden

Besides this he composed other chronograms as well and was chiefly noted in his day for his skill in same. He has been mentioned in this connection by Bā Yazid who styles him as Amānī, Manīja and quotes one of his most beautiful chronograms which

he had composed on the death of Sultān Chaghtā'i,
a young Mughal chief who was a favourite of
Humāyūn.

بِرْمَانْدَانْ جَفَتْ مَوْتْ گَلْ گُلْشَنْ مُرْبِي
ما گَدْ اَشْ سَوِيْ حَمَانْ رَاهْ دَنْ شَدْ
دَرْ مَوْ مَكْلَعَمْ رَهْ كَرْدْ اَرِيْسْ نَاعْ
دَلْ عَيْنَهْ دَهْ دَهْ دَهْ دَهْ دَهْ دَهْ
قَارِبَهْ وَ اَزْ دَلَلْ مَاقَمْ رَهْ جَهَنْمَ
دَرْ سَالَهْ شَدْ وَ گَدْ گَلْ اَرْ نَاعْ دَرَوْنْ شَدْ

Sultān Chaghtā'i was the flower of the
garden of excellence,
All of a sudden Death led him on the way
to Paradise,
In the season of flowers he resolved to go
from this garden,
The heart like the bud drowned in blood in
his grief,
The date of his departure I sought from the
grief-stricken nightingale,
It went into lamentation and said, 'a flower
went out of the garden.'

He was one of the greatest scholars of Humāyūn's
reign, and was the son of the famous poet Shaikh
Shaikh Jamāli Kambūh of Sultān Sikandar
Gadā'i Deh-Lodi's court. He spent much of his
early life in acquiring knowledge
and in lecturing to students of moral philosophy

and logic in Gujarat. In the year of Humayun's death, he repaired to the court of Akbar at the invitation of Bairam Khan and was raised through the latter's special favour to the high rank of *sadrāzāl*.¹ This installation of the Shaikh was chiefly due to his past loyal services to Bairam Khan during his stay in Gujarat where he had gone on a special mission in the reign of Humayun. His alliance with Bairam Khan which gave him ample shelter and scope for showing favours to his own followers and disciples by appointing them to responsible posts led him subsequently to interfere with the politics of the State and he became a zealous member of a political party against Akbar. Abul Faiz as a loyal supporter of Akbar's interests condemns the Shaikh as a mischief maker and a rebel. His power and influence came to an end with the fall of Bairam Khan. As a scholar he still remained prominent. So great was the fame of his learning that scholars from Mawarā'un Nahr Irāq and Khurasān used to come to India for an

¹ Akbar Nama, Vol. II, p. 21.

Cf. the statement:

مکان خوب بخشش میں دلیل ہے کہ توالتور، شیخ گدائی
کسے ڈالے اے تب بھلیو آرہا ہے ایسا کوئی پڑھنے کو نہ دیجیں
پڑھنے تو رالیں خیر ملائیں گے ایسا کوئی کوئی کہاں آکریں
کہاں پڑھ لے اکتھ لہیں کوئی، کوئی بستکوار بھال لے کہاں پڑھ کر
سلاریہ لے جی

[Ibid. p. 22.]

interview with him.' He is the first notable example in the reign of Humāyūn to combine the knowledge of Arabic and Persian with that of Hindi. In Persian he wrote chiefly 'ghazal' of which a specimen is given below:

وَكُمْهَےْ جَانِ مَهْرَلِ خَمْ شَهْدَهْ كَمْهَےْ دَلِ
 ... رَا مَيْبُونِ مَهْرَلِ بِمَنْزِلِ
 ... وَغَافِلَ زَ - أَلِ دَرَدِ مَنْدِي
 كَمْهَےْ اَزَ - أَلِ تُو وَكَلَمِ دَيْسَهْ غَافِلِ
 دَلِ دِيْوَانَهْ دَرِ رَلَفَ - تُو ... قَمِ
 كَمْهَےْ اَرَمِ بَلَانِ هَشَكِيَّهْ سَلَامِ
 سَهْ جَانِ هَادِنَ اَغْرِيَّ اَسَانِ شَهْدِيَّ كَارِ
 بِرَدِيَّ عَاهَقَانِهِ رَا هَيْجَهْ كَمْهَےْ كَلِ
 كَمْهَےْ جَانِ هَاكَاهِيَّهْ مَهْ آهَدِ
 شَهْدَهْ كَامِ زَ اَعَلِ يَارِ - اَصَلِ

Sometimes the soul was the abode of love,
 sometimes the heart,
 I carry thy love from place to place;
 Be not remiss to the need of one, grief-
 stricken,
 For he forgets not thee for a moment;

¹ Cf

وَهُونَدِ سَالِ مَرْجَعِ اَكَابِرِ وَ اَفَاقِلِ هَنْدُوْسْتَانِ وَ خَواَسَانِ وَ مَادَادِ الْفَهْرِ
 دَعْرَقِ دَرَدِ

I tied my infatuated heart to thy curly lock
 I am ensnared in that musky chain
 If by surrendering one's life the task would
 become easy,
 To lovers no difficulty would have remained
 O Gada'i, life ended with failure
 My object was not achieved from the ruby
 lips of the beloved

He also composed verses in Hindi and often sang them before his compatriots in Hindi tune.¹ He died in 976 A. H., twelve years after the death of Humayun.

He was one of the grandees of the court of Humayun and is stated like Mir Ali Shir Nava'i of Sultan Husain's court, or Abdurrahim Mir Wali Khan-i-Khanan of the reign of Akbar to be a patron of poets and scholars of his time. He had a fine taste for poetry and every now and then arranged poetical assemblies in which he personally took part. On one occasion he composed a marvellous ode of which the opening line is as follows

"امیدوار جنام کہ شرمساری میں
 خود بھیس تو عذر، گناہگاری میں

¹ Cf. the state *et cetera*:

طبع نظم نافعہ، تلف و صوفہ هلیں میں بھی دیکھی گئے

[Ibid.]

² Dastur-i-Riyasat-i-Shahara, B.M. MSS, Add. 16,729 fol. 479a.

I hope so much that my penitence,
May serve before thoc as an excuse for my
sin.

One instance of his *qit'a*-writing is to be found
in the following chronogram which he composed on
the death of Mirzā Kāmrān at Mecca :

۱

کامران ساده ساده
که در ساده ساده ساده وان و ساده
سداده شد اندل عرم چار سال
دکلی دل از تیله عالم رهازد
ز دهد وقوف همچ چار هی
فارسراهم همچ جان به اذان هشاده
دو در فرتاب ویسی در آهله شد
دیده دیده دیده دیده دیده دیده دیده
دکده... از بزرگ دیدت از فوت ما
دو - شاه مر حرم دو کعبه عاید

The king Kāmrān, the renowned monarch,
Who through rule...raised his head to Saturn;
Became a sojourner in the *harem* for four
years,
Frced his heart completely from the prison
of this world;
After the realization of the fourth *haj*,
In the *ihrām* of *haj* entrusted his soul to the
Beloved,

¹ Badā'ī, Vol I, p 452

When one night he appeared in Waisi a dream
 He showed kindness and called him near
 Then said if they ask thee about my decease
 Say the blessed king remained in Ka'ba.'

His poetry as seen from the above is simple and melodious and was but slightly affected by the current poetic tendencies at the court.

Like Shaikh Gada ; he too was a Hindi-Persian poet, and a scholar of varied accomplishments. On

~~Shaikh Abdu'l Wali~~ account of constant reading and writing his sight became weak. Badāūnī interviewed him at Qannauj in 977 A H when the Shaikh on account of his old age had confined himself to his native place. His chief works are the following

1. A commentary on *Nu-hat ul Arwah*¹ which Badāūnī praises as authentic.
2. *Sangīl*--a treatise on the technical terms of Sufism.

In his last days he was much devoted to Sufism and wrote several works on that subject. He also composed Hindi verses and sang them in Hindi tune. In Persian composition he paid more attention to *ghazal* and wrote elegant verses in same. The chief feature of his poetry as is commonly observed in contemporary writers is the frequent use of figures of speech with an attempt to create niceties in them. Once he wrote a *ghazal* with a flexible turn of phrase

¹ A work on Sufism by a celebrated scholar Fakhrus Sa'adat, written in the early part of the eighth century A H at Herat

and fancy in praise of his dear friend named Rāja.
The opening line is worth noticing.

۱۔ کردا ہیں اے دوست تھا۔ دل ما ۲۔
خوشگر ہو وہ دل ما خیر ترا ۳۔

O thou, whose thought has made its seat on
the throne of my heart,
Never in my heart is there place for other
than thee.

Another beautiful verse quoted by Badāuni is as follows

مرو جو اول دلماں ائمہ
دھی ایاہ دینیں تا رہوں بخوبیں

A poet of Humāyūn's court—chiefly known for his lyric poetry and enigma-writing both in Hindi and Persian. Two of his 'ghazals,' Maulānā Ja-
lalī Hīndī of which the opening lines are as follows, are specially noteworthy as serving to illustrate the tendency of average poets towards introducing original and creative ideas with flexible shifts.

¹ Badāuni, Vol III, p 66

[Note the play on the Hindi word Rāja (رَايَا) and its ingenious fusion into the Persian compound (رَايَا) which may equally be read as (رَايِيَا) making it a Persian-Hindi compound with a welcome shift in meaning

زائد ر حام باد لعل تو ت شد
روے تو دید هاسق و اتش بحر شد

The devotee got intoxicated from the cup of
the wine of thy ruby (lip)
The lover saw thy face and became a fire-
worshipper

و، مصل تو اے ماہ، بد افتاده است
و، کھاپن، مل، جو بسیار بد افتاده است

Thy pr^{er} use of union O moon, has fallen on
the Id
Oh on what a distant date this promise has
fallen!

He flourished in India under Bâbur and Humâyûn
and was among the literati of their courts. He

Muhammad
Ibn-i Ashraf
al-Husaini
Rostamjâvi.
was a student of natural science in
which he seemed to take great interest.
His work entitled *Jawâhir nâmâ-i*
Humâyûni which he dedicated jointly
to the father and the son is a dissertation on the

¹ Dâghîzâni, Riyâz-o-Sho'ara, B.M. MSS., Add. 16 729 fol.
109b.

Ibid.

* Or 1717 B.M. MSS.

Cf. the 11th

پھنس گرید مسخر ایں روند سعید ایں اغرب الصہیل الرسید لاری
کہ فریں اوتھے کہ امیون خیرت ایو التزی بھیلا گدیں سعید ہیو
پلخاہ عذات ملکہ تمام سماں کے نہ کر کہ را ہو تھے لواہ
مرف آسائے نورہ ہر آرہا " " بودہ بکہ واجب بیہل نورہ
کہ راستہ گمراہ ہر پاب جواہر مرتب سلسلہ مورخ ہا تکب ملیں تامی

- انم پاکستانیہ و پاکستانیہ

(Ibid. fol. 8a-ib.)

use and formation of precious stones and other mineral It is divided into 22 chapters as follows :

Preface	Foll 1a-4b	A short discourse on the divisions of natural objects
Chapter I	,, 4b—11a	On 'lūlū' (pearl)
" II	,, 11a—15b	On 'ya'qūt' (saphire)
" III	,, 15b—19a.	On 'la 'l' (ruby)
" IV	,, 19a—21b	On 'zamurrad' (emerald) and 'zabarjad' (topaz)
" V	,, 21b—22b	On 'zabarjad' (topaz)
" VI	,, 22b—26b	On 'almās' (diamond)
" VII	,, 26b—27b	On 'ainul hur (cat's eye)
" VIII	,, 27b 31b	On 'firūza' (turquoise)
" IX	,, 31b—42b	On 'pā-zahr' ¹
" X	,, 42b—43b	On 'aqīq' (cornelian)
" XI	,, 43b—45a.	On 'other' stones of the same family.
" XII	,, 45a 45b	On 'Jaza' (a kind of stone)
" XIII	,, 45b—48b	On 'magnātis' (magnet)
" XIV	,, 48b 49a	On 'sundbāda' (a stone used for polishing metal)
" XV	,, 49a—50a	On 'dahāna' (a mineral)
" XVI	,, 50a—53a	On 'lōjward' (lapiz lazuli)
" XVII	,, 53a—55b	On busud wa marjān (corals and pearls)
" XVIII	,, 55b 57b	On 'yashab' (jasper)
" XIX	,, 57b 58b.	On 'billūr' (crystal)
" XX	,, 58b 59a.	On 'kān' (mine)
" XXI	,, 59a—69a.	On miscellaneous kinds of stones
" XXII'	,, 69a—77b	On metals

¹ A charmed stone said to be found in the head of serpents and is reputed as an antidote for all kinds of poison.

It was undertaken in the reign of Bâbur sometime after his conquest of Hindûstân¹ and finished under the patronage of Humâyûn and presented to him.

He was a learned scholar of Arabic and Maulana Persian. He came to Agra from Nâdir Samarqand and was given a place among the elite of the court. Badâ'în's remark about his scholarship is as follows

مولانا نادری سرفرازی... ازدوا در درگار و شامل
جامع کامل بود -

Maulana Nâdir Samarqandi was among the rarities of the age and was a highly learned and accomplished scholar.

As a poet of Persian language he built up a reputation and wrote all kinds of poetry including 'ghazal' 'rubbâ' and 'qasida'. A specimen of each is given below.

Ghazal

و، چه طرام است ند بار را
بندۀ شوم آن ند ، رنار را
بلر سوے ما نه ترحم ۱۸۱۱
داشته مکر حائب افسار را
سوے خرابات گلر دلاری
در سرمی کن سرو ۱۸۱۱

¹ Vide Supra, p. 45 fn. 2.

² Badâ'în, Vol. I, p. 472.

Ibid.

How charming is the gait and the form of
the beloved,
I would become a slave to that form and gait ;
The beloved did not look on us with pity,
Perhaps he cherished a regard for the rivals ;
Go towards the tavern O Nādir !
Yield your head and turban to the thought of
wine.

His composition was not without subtleties which had been largely introduced in India under the patronage of the Mughal court. The following verse which he composed in praise of one Nizām, with whom he is said to have been in love, is illustrative of the popular taste and the atmospheric tendencies in the art of composition :

من دل کبھی گویم مفہوم نامی
کہ دل اُنہیں دیوبندیش دل ماتوان نہ اُنہیں

I the broken-hearted utter the praise of the
one named Nizām,
For my weak heart did not keep order (*nizām*)
without union with him.

رکوئیت کہ اُنہیں بودم آ جا
معز و عذ کہ جا آ جو بودم آ جا

¹ Ibid., p 472

² Ibid., p 473

NOTE.—The second hemistich of the first line may also be translated as 'I swear by my life when did I get rest there ?'

۵۷۴ میر حا سر نهادم
 تو بودی کس دم آنها
 حبهانی مردم من مابده محروم
 صد مقبول من مردم آنها
 حب برسی نادری حونی دران کو
 گهه ناخوش گهه طوس بودم آنها

At the top of thy lane where I have lived a
 lifetime

When did I get rest in my whole life?

With the intent of prostration where er I
 laid my head

Thou wast the Ka ba of my object there

What dost thou ask, O Nediri how farest
 thee in that lane?

Sometimes unhappy and sometimes happy
 was I there

Rubb:

۱۰۰۰ مصورم و در دل از تو ۱۰۰۰ صد فم
 بے لعل لست حریف در دم صد دم
 پس عمر مملوک من ۲۰۰۰ غریب
 خواهم سرد آرام گهه کوئے عدم

Grief-stricken I am and I possess in my
 heart a hundred sorrows from thee,
 Without the ruby of thy lip I am faced with
 anguish all the moments

¹ Ibid. p. 472.

In this life am melancholy, I,¹ the humble
and the indigent,
My place of rest shall be the lane of annihi-
lation.

One of his 'gasā'id,' in which he delineated on Humāyūn's taste for Mathematics and his prepossessions for science, is as follows. It is as well illustrative of the general style and the standard obtained in the art of 'qasida'-writing

الحمد لله رب العالمين رب اسرار
ما يعيش در سرمهذه نعمان مع اصر
گزارده باش اگه حراق ای... که آدمی
در حسرت گل، اهل عایب، نموده حاضر
عربیان در غزان بود همکن تراهمد و توان
کفر خرقه هم پاره گل دوخته هداتر
یکه ای... گل و یاسمن و سنبل و رویان
اماں نهاد آمدہ باحیل و اکر
مرعان مده... شاه ولد مرتبه خوانان
در شاح در توان چو خانیدان همان
حاقان همکام شه حم قدر ۳۰۰۰ ایون
کش ۵۰ تقوی ۵۰۰۰ دل ارقدرت قادر
ار ۱۰۰۰ او دادش امریکا و سیرت
و دیده شن او بیدرش ارباب دهایر
مهیه چو خراما ۱۰۰۰ در احکام شوریه

امثال نمایند سراغات اوام
 حم آمد و پیر طهر از اسلام
 آحاد سماون (دلمران هساکو
 پیر علم نعم سعادت
 بادس کرم لم پری حالت و ناصر
 اے تا گفت حود تو قوام همه اسا
 نام بدم لیخ تو اعراض و حواصر
 در روز ازد بود خداوند جهان را
 چه وحود تو اربیں خلیل دایر
 خوبیل اگر نار دگر و حی سعادت
 در شان نو طباعر سود آیات طواعی
 عز نکند \Rightarrow که لب لعل تو فرمود
 مسیحیو جهان سد جو دلیل متواتر
 معنی است که سرم کند لب ریاضی است
 \Rightarrow متن تو (ایحاد دایر
 کس دانس سیار ترا حون کند انکار
 انکار مذہبی نیازد هم مکابر
 احصای کمالات تو کردن نتوانم
 کاندر همه للهها سده کامل و ماعز
 با هقل ح \Rightarrow اند ، امثال تو دارد
 نفس ملکی ند \Rightarrow احناس مساهی
 حود تو بنو \Rightarrow که در ساخته بدشی
 نا خواسته دانی \Rightarrow حاجات نمایر

He died in 966 A. H., and the following chronogram was written by Mir Amāni Kabli.

وَا - رَهَا كَهْ نَادِرِيْ ذَكَرَهْ دَانْ دَادْ دَادْ
آنْ نَادِرِيْ كَهْ دَادْ سَعَيْنْ دَادْ دَرْ حَبَانْ
~ مَ ~ مَزَدَهْ تَارِيخَهْ فُوتْ او
گَوَّهْ اَخْرَهْ كَهْ رَفَعَهْ يَكْرَهْ اَزْ سَعَيْنْ دَادْ

He was appointed by Humāyūn as tutor to the young prince Akbar at Cābul, after Mullā Pir Muhammad.¹ On Humāyūn's second entry into Hindūstān he was invited by the latter to come to Āgra, and on his arrival in 963 A.H., just after Humāyūn's death, was received by Akbar with marks of greatest favour and kindness.² His father Qāzī Yahyā was well-read in history and enjoyed the fame of a historian in his lifetime. He is said to have known by heart the various Muslim dynasties that ruled in Central Asia, Turkey, and Hindūstān. Hairatī, a poet of Trans-Caspian Province, eulogises his wonderful memory and historical insight in the following complimentary verse

ذَكَرَهْ بَارِسَهْ اَرُوْ فَاهِيدْ نَهَيْدْ
كَهْ دَرِيْسْ تَارِيخَهْ مَهْنَلْ اوْ دَهِيدْ

¹ Ibid , p 475

² Farishta, Vol I, p 466

³ Akbar Nāma, Vol. II, p 19

⁴ Badāuni, Vol III, p 97

The tale of history ought to be heard from
him

None in the present day has seen any one
like him.

Mir Abdul Latif himself like his father was deeply interested in history and it was probably due to his command of the subject that he received his appointment as tutor to the young prince. It is noteworthy that his younger brother Mir Al'ud daula Qazwini, who was trained and brought up under the fostering care of his elder brother was equally a fine historian and wrote the famous work *Nafid is ul Ma'arif* from which both Badshah and Abul Fazl have derived their material for the literary phase of Humayun's reign.

He was a student of Mathematics and Astronomy and was unrivalled in his day for his knowledge in

~~Mathematics~~ those two branches of science. He
~~Ilyas~~ acted as tutor to Humayun and taught

him lessons on Astronomy. It was due mostly to the training received under him that Humayun subsequently developed a considerable taste for that science. Badshah tells us that he was proficient in the subject and thoroughly capable of erecting an Observatory.¹ Once when he happened to visit Ardabil in the latter part of his life he wrote a letter to Shah Isma'il II (whom Shah Tahmasp

¹ Cf. the statement:

مرکز الیمن، ائمه هنرمندان، علماء، ائمه، محدثین
و محدثین دارای دلخواه

[Ibid., p. 182.]

had in his lifetime imprisoned in the fort of 'Qahqaha'), saying that from the confluence of stars it transpires that he (Shāh Isma'il II) would succeed to the throne and that his other opponents would soon be vanquished. In that letter he also directed Shāh Isma'il to visit him at Ardabil on his release from the prison so that he might put him under the right stars which would lead to his future glory and uninterrupted retention of power. But the latter, while passing Ardabil in procession, on being released by his party in consequence of the revolution which followed the death of his arch-rival Haidar Mirzā, forgot to see the Maulānā, and having gone some distance subsequently recollect-ed the prediction and suddenly turned back and called at the Maulānā's house. The Maulānā locked the door from inside but the Shāh managed to get in by climbing over the wall. Thereupon the Maulānā covered his face and refused to see him saying that the hour appointed was gone and the opportunity lost, since the planets had just moved from their position. The Shāh then was obliged to leave, and though proclaimed king at Qazwīn, yet strange to say that after a year's successful reign, he met his tragic death in a confectioner's house in 985 A.H. It was surmised that he was poisoned at night when under the intoxication of onium, in consequence of the cruelties which he had inflicted on his house and the court.¹

¹ Sir John Malcolm, History of Persia, Vol I, p 517, London, 1815

He was a distinguished scholar and a favourite poet of Humayun. As the latter he wrote all kinds of poetry and compiled a separate Maulana Quim habi dīwān consisting of qasida masna wi' and ghaṣṣal. He stands a contrast with his fellow poets in easiness of style and use of simple and plain language. The sweetness inherent in his poetry is hardly approached by any one of his contemporaries. He composed several qasida and qitāt' in praise of Humayun. The following chronogram which he wrote on the emperor's death is reproduced by Jauhar as one of the finest ever written.

ہمایوں پادشاہ آن آن تابی
کہ نفع شامل او عام القہاد
بنائے دولتش حرب یاں رلع
اسلس هرس از انعام القہاد

¹ Tazkira al-Waqi'at, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,711 fol. 144a.
NOTE.—Mirza Ali 'oddadha Qaravati, author of Naṣīḥat al-Ma'lūk quotes only three lines of which only one is common. The other two are as follows:

ہمایوں کے سارے میرے دعائے کس جو لوگوں کیں ہے
لے کر گھر بڑے ایک دیواری ازیں میں ملکہ دلے یعنی

The same is produced by Badīqī, and quoted by Prof. Bayani. It is noteworthy that the last line which is the chronogram of Humayun's death gives the year 962. But the death actually took place in 963 A.H. and the chronogram is therefore short by 1 year.

جو خود رشید مرحبا تاب از بله مدی
 دهایان در همار شام از زاد
 حهان ناریک نمای در چشم مردم
 مل در کار حاصل و عام اهتم
 بی سارع او کاهی قم دی
 ”نهایون چاده ها از بام از زاد“

Humāyūn, the king, is that sun,
 Whose all-embracing bounty fell common to
 all;
 The structure of his power, when it attained
 its height,
 The foundation of his life fell from its base,
 Like the world-illuminating sun from its
 height,
 Down below at the time of evening prayer he
 fell;
 The world became dark in the eyes of the
 people,
 On the work of the high and the low confu-
 sion fell,
 For the date thereof Kāhi wrote,
 Humāyūn, the king, from the terrace fell.

Of all the chronograms composed by other poets,
 this is decidedly the most natural and stands
 unbeaten in the simplicity of style, accuracy of
 detail, and beauty of language. Another equally
 simple and suggestive chronogram which he wrote

on Kämran's death which took place at Mecca is as follows

کامران آنکہ بے امی را
 کس نمود سب = ۴۰ دار خورد
 سد ز کابل ده کمعه و انصاعا
 حل بحق داد، نس بحال سرد
 گلب تاریخ او حسن کلشی
 پادشاه کامران ده کمعه مرد

Kämran was such that for the place of king
 There was none so worthy as he
 He went from Cibul to ha ba and ther
 Entrusted the soul to the True One and the
 body to the earth
 Kahi wrote the chronogram thus
 The king Kämran died in ha ba '

Abul Fazl calls him Miyân Hale and counts him among the foremost poets of Akbar's court. Badâ'ûnî too though points out his certain faults as a poet, thinks him unrivalled in his day in the essential features of poetry and in the composition of chronograms. He had also associated for some time with Jâmi at Herât, and acquired there a competent knowledge of the commentary of the Qur'an and mysticism. In the company of Kämran he had gone to Mecca and performed his pilgrimage. For all this Badâ'ûnî thinks him an atheist and finds him guilty

¹ Badâ'ûnî, Vol. I p. 42.

of gross religious and moral offences¹. It is amusing, however, to note that his composed poems were universally popular and sung even in Bādāūnī's time in the assemblies of the Sūfis². The opening lines of some of his odes are as follows. They are unsurpassed in poetic grace and are to be classed among the best productions.

دنه دار کوئی جهانی دے سکے، مگر من
ھمود نہ دے دارا، دار پھرور من

My relentless love has slain a whole world
with his daintiness,
Still he, the cherisher of my temper, is
carrying on his amorous playfulness

نه سرگس ا... عیان سر در مزار هرا
اعیان شلی دو هشت چشم آتهار هرا

¹ NOTE — Badauni's displeasure is probably due to the poet's acceptance of Akbar's heresies, for Abul Fazl calls him a disciple of the emperor, and also hints at his free and unorthodox life Cf —

اره رب دراخي پر اگنداه چند گرد او فواهم بودي و ماچ دين دار تکي
حويش پرده آوانی یقى خداوند خويمتن دا ارميدان هر هر دهی -
[A'in i Akbari, Vol I, p 244]

² Cf the statement

و این هر دو عزیز و اصوّقی خوب است که در عالم شهره یافته در
مالس میتوانند و نظم ملوی و اهل لری ندان آدایش می یابند و
Hadātūnī, Vol I p 452]

Ibid Vol III p 174

NOTE - Love is often treated by Persian poets as an ideal and then is referred to in masculine terms in the same way as Cupid is treated in English poetry.

1 Ibid

It is not the narcissus that has displayed
itself over my grave

It is my vigilant eye that has in the long
expectation of thee turned white

صرخ نابه برق دیدن بر ریس انگزکرد
آنس سوداے لطیع سر او تیر کرد

The bird since it has started flapping its
wings over Majnun's head
It has kindled the fire of his love for Latifa
ever more

حوس عکس هارمس آشنه برو گل سود
کرداران آشنه طوطی بلکرده بلبل سود

Since from the reflection of his cheek the
mirror becomes full of flower
If therefore a parrot look into that mirror
she would become a nightingale

درید باران بلا بردن غم بروور ما
نه ملاها که نمایرد نلک بر سر ما

The rain of distress poured on my grief worn
body,

What calamities did the sky not bring down
on my head !

¹ Ibid.
Ibid.
Ibid.

The following, which is full of romantic similes and metaphors, is in praise of a handsome Yogi youth:

اُدھیں دیس ر اک تر جو دیا،
یا، اب ار آتش دو، تو حاکمیت

Thy fiery face has become like a lotus through
the ashes smeared on thy face,
Or the veil through the fire of thy face got
burnt into ashes.

In a long '*qasida*'² he dwelt on Humāyūn's taste for Astronomy and the uses of certain instruments like the 'astr'abe,' and 'compass' etc., which Humāyūn had selected for his contemplated observatory.

¹ Ibid

NOTE—It is still the custom of a Hindū Yogi to go about with his face smeared with dust, or ashes

It may also be observed that the similes employed here are drawn purely from Indian life and surroundings, and the verse is in every aspect Indian in its conception with the creative genius of a poet playing its part under favourable and encouraging circumstances

² This is the second notable instance to come across after Nādirī's *qasida* where the genius of a poet took a scientific turn and was spent in describing apparatuses instead of the usual praises of the court. This was done evidently to arrest Humayūn's attention and to commend their poetry to his notice. They knew that to gain his full appreciation of their verses it was necessary to compose them according to the royal taste. This shows the extent of the influence that the individual taste of a Mughal sovereign in India could exercise over the literati of his court, as also his power to direct and mould the popular taste of the country as a whole.

He was a poet of great gifts and composed several pieces extempore in his wonted strain. Once during his illness when Khwāja Mu'azzam Khān a noble of Khairābād went, in spite of pain in his foot, to see him he recited offhand a ghazal welcoming the khwāja to the latter's great astonishment. It ran thus

ماددی قدم ناز بروے نیاز من
مردے مداد بائے ترا سرو ناز من
هر چند وصف وصل تو کردم سب فرای
کوئہ نہ سے قصہ نہ دار من

Thou hast stepped daintily over my needy face
May there be no pain to thy foot, O my tender cypress
However much I uttered the praises of thy union on the night of separation
My lengthy tale of sorrow did not come to a finish

He also wrote a masnawi entitled *gul aṣḥān* as a reply to Sa'di's *Būstān* and compiled a *diwān* consisting of ghazal masnawi rubai and *gasida*.

Before his coming to India, he had the usual prejudice which is of interest to note in his following composition

جو سایہ رہی مدھر د روان شوی
 ماشد که رفتہ رفتہ سما مہر مان ہوی
 اے بیرونی قصہ یوہ دھی مل
 ۱۸۵ کہ تھی و رایتھا روان ہوی
 کاهی تو داعل جس آں کاملی
 داع و دعن مکہ دعہ دعہ دعہ دعہ

Like a shadow we accompany thee wherever
 thou shouldst go,
 May be that by degrees thou shouldst become
 kind to us,
 O sage of love, seek the society of one like
 Joseph,

It is not strange that like Zulaikhā thou
 shouldst become young;
 O, Kāhī, thou art the nightingale which
 adorns the garden of Cābul,
 - Thou art not a *crow* and a *kite* to go to
 Hindūstān.

Soon after his arrival in India, there was a marked change in his tone which was gradually softened into the praises for the court and its literati.

He ranked among the foremost poets of Bādakshān, and entered Humāyūn's service when the latter conquered that province. In commemoration of this victory he composed the following chronogram and presented it to the emperor .

Maulānā Junubī

توتی ساد ساعان دوران که سد
 ترا کار نیم ، خبر
 گرفتی بدھان و تاریخ سد
 دھانیون — بخوبی

Thou art the king of kings of the age
 Thy work ever ended in victory and triumph
 Thou didst seize Badakhshān and the date
 was found in
 Mohammad Humayūn is the king of land
 and sea.

He also wrote several *qasida*' in praise of his master in the metre and style of Nizami, and Anwari. The one quoted by Badāuni, as being most famous and widely read runs thus

سہن ساعاخ تو لالہ ، سربیں لب تو حل
 حس بسم لب تو طبھہ رنگیں سدہ خندان
 نبی گویم حظ تو سرے ، دینماں خد تو گل
 شود طاعر لد تو فتنہ دوران دم حوالیں

O emperor thy face is tulip and wild rose
 and thy lip is life
 I see thy lip a bud of resplendent hue that
 has just begun to smile
 I say not the down on thy cheek verdure and
 hyacinth nor thy cheek a rose

Thy form shall prove to be '*the turmoil of the age*' when thou dost move.

The tendency to create subtleties in the use of figures of speech and exhaust skill at the artful devices, which is a striking feature of the later Mughal age, is also visible in his writings. In a '*masnawi*' which he composed in eulogy of his master he made use of all such subtleties to the discomfiture of his contemporaries. From its very first line quoted below, the drift and character of the whole poem can be gauged :

شمس نشأة دین بادشاہ رمان
کامران شدہ ایوں ... ۱۰۰۰

¹ Ibid

Note the artistic use of the word '*humāyūn*' with '*kāmrān*' in their both concrete and adjectival senses. This is a typical example of the usual attempts at the Indian courts to exhaust two or more figures of speech in one phrase. The prominent figures in the above are ایهام and مراءاتاہلیت [Equivocation and Homogeneity]. The great incentive to this sort of production is to be found in the applaudive support of the Mughal kings who encouraged its growth in India as a piece of literary skill. But it must not be understood that this hobby was exclusively Indian. It was in fact Persian, but developed in India under more favourable circumstances. Cf. a similar instance of play on the word '*mahmūd*' (name of Sultān Mahmūd Ghaznawī) at the Persian court of Shāh 'Abbās—the Great, from Zulālī's *masnawi* entitled '*Mahmūd wa Ayyūz*' beginning

نَامَ أَكْتَهُ مَوْمِعَهُ اِيَّارًا - * - مَنْ سَخَّانَهُ نَارُ وَ نَيَارًا، وَ

Also cf. the finishing line المی عاقبت مَوْمِعَهُ مَاهُ دَاهُ B.M. MSS.

Or 350] For further illustrations *vide supra*, p. F N 3

The emperor of religion and the king of the age

Became victorious through auspicious fortune.

His other poems including *ruba'i* and *qaṣīdah* are to be found in the biographies of Persian poets. Some selections have been given by Badkūnī and Abul Fazl. The following from the latter is reproduced as a clever composition in praise of Akbar inducing him to bestow on the poet yet another elephant loaded with gold

تا بشلان میل دیدم دلستان خویس،
 صرف راه فیل کردم نقد حان خویس را
 حان برس سرمه حون نسل صرحا
 گرنده ستم برس خود ایان خویس،
 ساده فیل افگن حلال الدین، داکبر است
 آنکه پنجه د فیل زرین ساعران خویس را

Since I noticed the attention of my heart
 ravisher towards elephants
 I spent in the path of the elephants the cash
 of my life
 I throw dust over my head like an elephant
 wherever I go

¹ In I Akbari Vol I p. 244

The above poem is a very good example of the Persian figure of speech known as *تپه سرمه* wherein the channels of thought and metaphor are suggested purely from the luxuries of an Indian court.

If I do not find on my head my elephant-driver;
The elephant-braver king is that Jalāluddin
Muhammad Akbar,
Who bestows on his poets elephants loaded
with gold.

He combined the knowledge of Astronomy with Poetry. In the latter he confined his attention chiefly to 'qasida'-writing, and followed Shāh Tāhir Dakhnī¹ Nizām i Astrābādī, and Anwārī in general style. He entered Hūmāyūn's service in the first part of his reign, and presented to him the following 'qasida' which he had composed in the metre of Anwārī.

محل مهر جو آید پرسبخان - ۲۰۰
لاله فانوس مر اگررہ و سرگان میشل
کوه ارد ره ، رمین دی دس کنون
ویا از تامیہ اش اسر مهاری مدل

The litter of the sun when it enters the night-chamber of the Ram,
The tulip lights up the candle-lamp, and the narcissus the torch,
The mountain is now relieved of the headache of December and January,

¹ Badā'ūnī—Vol I, p 483
Cf Anwārī's qasida

دوم بورگاد جو ارجوت هر آید : مل
اپنے دوز کند اے بے دا اول

The spring cloud washes the sandal powder
from off its face.

Some of his qasid are most remarkable, and are composed in close imitation of those of the leading Persian poets like Salmān Zahir Anwari and Khāqānī. A few of which the opening lines are quoted below are specially noteworthy.

هر گم آباد حهان هس از دل ناساه رلت
خوبه گم کردیم حندانی که هس از باد رلت

In the grief inhabited world life's joy left the
unhappy heart,
So much to grief were we given that life's
joy was forgotten.

ما هم حق بدانیم و زاند از ربا
هر دو بدانیم اما مانکنلو او کشا

We are notorious for our guilt of love and the
devotee for his hypocrisy
Both are notorious, but see the difference
between him and ourselves.

بیرون میا که شوڑا ایام مشوی
ما ۴۸: دین تو ہدنام ۵: دی

¹ Ibid. p. 497.

1 **Dad**

Івід.

Don't come out, for thy fame will spread,
We shall be killed and thou wilt be slandered.

مَنْ أَنْكَسَ كَهْ سُرْكَامْ گَيْتَى مَهْدَى دَلْ
مَنْزِدِلْكَ اهْلْ مَرْ دِيْمَوْ عَاقِلْ

He who fixes his heart on the object of the
world,
Is not wise before the men of wisdom.

بَازْ وَهَهْ ... كَهْ دُولَاهَقْ تَقَاهِمَا رَهْلَكْ
اَهْكَدْ بَرْ رَ اِيُونْ جَمْنَ گَلْ تَوْهَادْ

Again 'Tis time, through the sky's demands,
That the rose spread a carpet before the
palace-garden's gate.

He is called '*Dakhani*' because he had devoted himself in his later years entirely to Deccan, and rose to considerable influence and fortune there. He originally belonged to 'Irāq wherefrom he came to Āgra and stayed there for some time in the beginning. Since he was an orthodox Shi'a and a zealous advocate of his religion, he often discussed with the Sunni court religious questions which eventually led to a friction between himself and his Sunni associates. He called himself a relation of Shāh Tahmāsp, and might be that he was purposely sent to Humāyūn's court by the Shāh to convert the emperor into Shi'a. From Āgra he went to his

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., p. 484

elder brother Shah Ja far in Deccan and took service under Burhan Nizam Shah I ruler of Ahmadnagar who soon raised him to the rank of Deputy (*Vazil*). He is an epoch-making personage and opens a new chapter in the history of the Deccan by introducing the Shi'a faith in that country and converting the Shah into a zealous Shi'a. Badshah relates the incident which led to the conversion of the Shah as follows

و نظام شاه بحری را که بسیاری میم من لاعلام داشت
بدران مل قسم طولانی شاه بحری و مکری روی ۱۵۰ و این
معنی را حمل بر کرامات شاه حضرت نموده بلعوای
او از مذهب سنت و حمامت که بطريق مهدیه دادست
بر آمدند متوجه خالی شد

Ibid. p. 482.

NOTE. A doubt has been raised by Professor Browne in his recent work Persian Literature in Modern Times, A.D. 1500—1924 p. 169 fn. 8, as to the correctness of the epithet *Bahrī* with which the Nizam Shāhs of Ahmadnagar were known. Cf.—

I doubt if *Bahrī* is a correct reading. It should perhaps be *Burhānī*, the proper name of the second of the Nizam Shāhs of Ahmadnagar who reigned, etc.

As to its correctness as a title or surname of the Nizam Shāhs of Ahmadnagar there is not the least doubt. The historian Farishtah who, on his arrival in India, had at first settled at Ahmadnagar due to his father's appointment as tutor to Murshid Nizam Shah says that Nizamul Mulk I, (whose real name on his conversion to Islam had been changed from Malik Nābul to Malik Hāsan) was for a time called *Baha* i.e. after the name of his Brahman father

And to Nizām Shāh Bahri, who had a chronic and incurable disease, through Shāh Ja'far's recitation of charm, relief appeared. And having attributed this to Shāh Ja'far's supernatural powers, the king, through his instigation, renounced the Sunnī faith which he had on the manner of Mahdīwī sect, and became a zealous bigot.

He died in 952 A H , and the date was found in the ingenious phrase ﴿وَنَعِمْ أَمْ لِدِي﴾, and he was the follower of the house of 'Ali) He was an excellent poet, and is the author of several poetical works consisting mostly of 'masnawī' and 'qasād'īd' in praise of Humāyūn and Nizām Shāh Bahri.

He came to Āgra from Shirāz, and took his role as one of Humāyūn's court poets. He had a Sūfistic turn of mind and lived a simple and unostentatious life. Badaūnī testifies to his fame as a poet and his tendency to Sūfism. He possessed a sweet tongue and his poetry

'Bahar' This appellation was changed by Sultān Muham-mad Shāh into 'Bahrī' with which the dynasty became subsequently known in the Deccan. The Sultan had also entrusted to his care his favourite hawk together with other hunting animals due to the suggestivity of the word 'Bahrī' (a hawk or a falcon) Cf the statement

ا۔ ایں سے مدد ہاتھ دراداں۔ ایں چون لکھ نہ رورا۔ میری، کردا
ب۔ میری، گئے۔ ہر آپنے بیس الفاظ، العام بہ میری ملکاب
ج۔ میری عاصت خود را دریافت ہوئے۔ نہ روراں ہکاری
د۔ بوارے ملائے۔ اٹھی حوالہ ملے۔ ت۔ میری سورہ۔ ..
[Farishta, Vol. II, p. 584.]

was full of pathos and the pang of spiritual love. He wrote chiefly *ghazal* on separation from his Ideal beloved and in complaint of the latter's inattentions. Some specimens are as follows

اُز بس که آن حنا حوازار ملمايد
اندل ترحم او سوار ملمايد

Since great is the torture that that tyrant
shows
A little mercy from him appears as much.

بِسْمِ اللّٰہِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
کہ می انتا، حون حشم طوہ از ^۱ ی سہر کوئی
حو ساغر از برای حرمتہ لب بہر لب هر کس
مراحتی دار ^۲ سافری مائل بہر سوی

God be praised that I was freed from the
love of a quarrelsome drunkard
Who fell into every street like his own
intoxicated eye
Like a wine-cup for a draught of wine he
put his lip to the lip of every one
Like a jug of wine for a cup of wine he was
going in every direction

¹ Badami Vol. I, p. 475.
² Ibid.

هُری کہ دل بوصولِ سوامِ دہڑہ ملک دود
 دادوں آئہ در کہ سوان گو... جملہ دود
 القمرہ در فراں دے رشی شہار ۲۰
 سرمایہ وصال کہ دادن کہ جزد دود
 ایمار دوس ہیش بو سودید و فارعی
 از دورها سر آدم حرمان سپند نوں

It is long since my heart had the boon
 of union with thee,
 It was so short that it was as if it were not
 In short, the days of life were spent in
 separation,
 The wealth of union who knew how great it
 was?
 The rivals, last night, were before thee, and
 Fārīghi
 From afar was like a rue on the fire of des-
 pair.

رُسَّمَةٌ حَمْبَرِيَّةٌ اَرْيَارَانَ ۲۰
 در پریساپی پریشا دیساپی اُر ۲۰ مَكَانِ

The string of union do not break, O companions
 of breath,
 In scattering there is distress, do not break
 away from each other

^۱ Ibid., p. 476

^۲ Ibid.

احتویت نمود کسی از عوام بگذار به کان را
مرا دل نده که تا مردانه نم راهت دعم حل را

When thou drawest the arrow from my chest,
 leave the arrow-head
Give me heart so that like a brave man I may
 give my life in thy path

He breathed his last in 940A H at Agra and was buried by the side of his late friend Shaikh Zainuddin whose death had occurred just a few months before him.'

He lived at the Mughal court as personal physician to Bâbur and Humâyûn and also as chief Munshi to the latter. He is the author of several works of diverse utility and nature including poetical, medicinal and epistolary. In poetry he wrote chiefly *qasida* on subjects connected with public health and hygiene under the pen name 'Yârusî'. Some of his works are the following:

104

* This is to be noted that both these poets on their arrival to India were in a very miserable condition. Shihab Abel Wajid who came from Shiraz had nothing with him besides one old fur coat on his body and so did the other. Cf. the statement

(سالی که هر هزار گواو متوجه هند یو دند لز تکنی ملرنا نیور لز کله پرسیں
بلفره نداشتند

[Ibid. p 477] From this extreme poverty they rose to
fame under the Mughal patronage. Shaikh Zainuddin was
appointed as Sadr by Babur and Abul Wajid occupied a
seat among the court poets of Humayun.

- I. *Riyāz ul Inshā'*: a treatise on the properties of simple and compound medicinal herbs and prescriptions, undertaken in 946 A.H., and on finish dedicated to Humāyūn.
- II. *Jāmi'ul Fawa'id*¹ : a work on general medicine treating of their uses, benefits, and injuries, with certain guiding rules.
- III. *Qāsida fi hifz i Sihat* : a poem on the main principles of hygiene, dedicated to Bābur in 937 A. H., when he was not keeping good health
- IV. *Badā'i'ul Inshā*. a treatise on the art of literary composition, giving proper titles and forms of addresses in accordance with the rank and profession of the addressee. It was written in 940 A. H., for the benefit of his own son, Rafi'uddin Husain, as well as other youths in general. It has been lithographed at Lāhore, Delhi, and Lucknow.

¹ Add. 17955, B.M MSS , foll. 79b, and 174a.

² Add. 28, 560, B M MSS foll 262a—264b

NOTE —This is only an extract from the preceding work

³ The date of its composition is obtained by doubling the total of the numerical value of the letters of its title, as hunted by the author in the following verse

تکرار تھی جو نام ادرا یعنی ۴۷۰ * بسال اتمام

[Thus ۱۴۷۰×۲=470, which on being doubled ($470 \times 2 = 940$) gives the date of its composition]

He was the son of the famous scholar and poet of Babur's time Khwaja Abul Barakat (still alive 1525) and patronised by Humayun. The father and the son both were capable poets and wrote all kinds of poetry including ghazal, masnavi, rubai' and qasida. The father used Faragi as his pen name. The following qasida which he wrote after the manner and style of Salmaan Sawafi is one of his worthiest productions.

کب خم دارم و درد سر مصراں بر سر
 آمدہ حان ملک و نامدہ حانان بر سر
 تا گرنے آئی دل دل من حسون کالیس
 دامن حمال شد و چل گریمان بر سر

The fever of grief and the headache of separation have I ov'r head
 To the lip has come life and the loved hath not come ov'r head
 Since the fire of the heart caught light in my body like a candle lamp
 My skirt was torn and the rent of the collar appeared ov'r head

He combined with the sober poetic vein a considerable amount of humour and also wrote satires for which he had a pungent gift, on eminent theologians in a graceful and felicitous style. Some of

his verses from a pleasantly humorous poem written as a satire upon the Qāzī of Nishāpūr are reproduced below :

خلاف رع بیو دز سو شسته و دگر
 که میخ دان دود دز که اینها مسما در
 خل د رام سو شه و راب کرده حلال
 که این ه ارگ تاک دز و آن ه شی د در
 که نز کو گه دز دز قانه دز
 که ه ام دس من ازوی دز و سل مظہور
 و اب داد که گرو اقوی هم عیده دز دل ای دز
 دوا سود که دز آرد د ای دز د مزدور

Against the law of the Prophet, he wrote
 another law,
 Of which naught is found writ in the early
 books;
 Honey he forbade, and wine he permitted,
 Since one was the grape's juice, the other
 the bee's vomit;
 To a woman who 'fore the Qāzī of her
 husband complained,
 That he did not give to her joy complete,
 He replied, "If his strength is so weak,
 'Tis allowed in his place a coolie to seek,"

Farishta pays him a high tribute of praise and declares that he came to Deccan after Humayun's death¹

His son Khwaja Ayyub in his poetical composition sometimes uses Ayyub and sometimes Faragi (the pen name of his father) as his nom de guerre. A specimen of his ode is as follows

۱۰۷

اے سارع گل کھدھ جو سہی لد ۲ ۱۱۵
در گرد لب ملطخے (زمرد کسندہ
قدت برآمده حو الہ مد طلخے
عور ابراران براز الہ مد ۳ ۱۱۶
بر حرف نیکران دننا قرعہ قبول
بر حرف عائشان للم ۴ ۱۱۷
از دولت وصال فراتی طیع صر
حور و حلای بیار حو ۵ ۱۱۸ ۱۱۹

O branch of the rose thou art drawn straight
like an erect stature

¹ Cf. the statement:

رواجہ ایوانبرکت سرقلیں کے آئو ہر زمانے میں ظاہر ہے مکن
آمدہ یوہ در ۱۱۷۴ - ، تدبیس حدیث و تفہیر تذکرہ -

[Farishta, Vol. I, p. 356.]

² Badami, Vol. I, p. 489.

Round over thy lip thou hast drawn a line of emerald ;
 Thy stature has come out like 'alif,' may its shadow increase,
 And from thy eyebrows thou hast drawn a 'mad' over that 'alif',
 Thou hast cast a dice of acceptance on the words of others,
 On the words of lovers thou hast drawn the pen of rejection ;
 O Farāqī, do not despair the boon of his union,
 Since thou hast suffered endless tyranny and oppression of the beloved.

Maulānā Muhammad bñ i 'Alí bñ i Muhammad al Miskin al Qāzī as Samargandī, a man of consider-

Maulānā Mu- able learning remained unnoticed by the
 hammad Fazl Mughal historians, author of a distin- .
 guished Persian work entitled 'Jawāhir ul 'Ulūm' (or the pearls of Sciences) not published. It is a voluminous work covering 814 foll. (1,628 pages), of large foolscap size, closely written in neat elegant Arabic character. It is divided into several chapters and subdivisions, and treats of one hundred and twenty different subjects which are discussed under those headings with admirable brevity and simpleness of style. Some discussions are on history, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, logic, philosophy, ethics, and Muslim jurisprudence. The copyist is one Nūr Muhammad's son, 'Abdurrahmān of Lāhore. The date of compilation is contained in its very name

which is inserted both in the Introduction and at the end and works out into 946 A.H. The work is called *Humāyūnī* after the name of the emperor to whom, as it appears from the Preface this copy was formally presented. The author also incidentally hints at several works of his prior to this one and says as a reason for writing this book, that from his very boyhood till his mature age he was busy in acquiring knowledge under the best teachers of the age and having studied some rare works like *Nafā'is ul Funūn fi Arz is ul Uyūn Sittin ul Āsūr* and *Haddiq ul Anwār*, he thought of putting together their contents as well as those of his previous works, in a smaller compilation. The work is therefore a sort of Encyclopedia which is a singular undertaking in that age and stands by itself.

The title page bears the seals of Shah Jahān Sulaimān Jāh Sultan Ālam and Shah Ālam with several autographs of the librarians and private owners. These with the inscription of bulāmān Jāh's seal suggest that the book remained in the

¹ Cf. the title and its working :

۱۴۳ ۲۰ + ۴۰۰ + ۱۰ + ۲ --- = ۴۳۲

۱۰۱ ۳ + ۸ + ۱ + ۵ + ۲۰۰ --- = ۲۱۸

۱۶۷ ۱ + ۳۰ + ۷۰ + ۳۰ + ۶ + ۴۰ = ۱۷۷

۱۲۶ ۶ + ۴۰ + ۱ + ۱۰ + ۶ + ۵۰ + ۱۰ = ۱۲۶

— *الطباطبائی، اول المطابق،*

Total ۹۴۶ A.H.

Cf. the inscription in verse

۱۴۳ ۲۰۰ ۱۰۰ ۵۰۰ ۱۰۰ ۱۰۰

۱۰۱ ۳۰ ۸۰ ۱۰ ۵۰ ۱۰

libraries of the kings of Delhi and Oudh Since the work is of peculiar interest, it would be of some value for a student of literary history to observe the style of its language, and the tone of the author's Preface and his address to the king, together with the subjects discussed, which in those days formed the main basis of learning and considered important from a scholar's standpoint

The first 3 folios are reproduced from the original as follows fol 1 b

كتاب حواهـر العـلوم
دـم الـاء الرـحـمـن الرـحـيم
وـمـ بـالـهـيـر

فـاـهـلـتـقـرـبـتـ مـاـهـاـوـمـاـ حـواـهـرـ عـلـومـ وـ دـمـيـفـاتـ مـهـاـفـاتـ
فـاـهـلـ وـ كـامـاـ رـبـيـسـ مـهـدـشـورـاتـ مـوـادـرـ دـمـ وـ سـالـهـاتـ مـؤـلـفـانـ
كـامـلـ كـهـ چـهـرـةـ ذـمـاـحـمـ شـعـارـ دـوـعـرـوـسـانـ دـعـایـیـنـ دـوـنـونـ
معـهـ دـلـهـ وـ حـوـهـ بـلـاءـ دـقـارـ دـیـمـاـیـانـ عـرـاـیـسـ مـیـمـونـ مـلـهـ دـلـهـ
رـاـ زـیـبـوـرـ مـهـیـلـ وـ مـهـیـلـ کـرـامـ مـزـینـ وـ مـهـیـلـ دـارـدـ
بـلـایـعـ صـدـ وـ سـهـاسـ وـ سـلـایـعـ مـدـحـ بـهـ قـیـلـسـ سـمـرـتـ
پـاـنـشـاـهـقـیـ اـسـهـ دـهـ کـهـ دـهـاـمـ اـمـوـرـ عـالـمـ وـ اـدـهـاـمـ مـهـاـمـ
بـهـ آـدـمـ بـوـدـ وـ دـفـایـنـ الـهـ وـ دـپـانـ تـهـاـلـاـ (۱۰) دـهـمـاـیـوـنـ اـثـرـ وـ
شـہـرـیـارـانـ شـہـرـیـ دـهـوـرـ مـاـدـطـ وـ مـرـبـوـطـ سـاـخـذـهـ وـ حـامـ
نـرـوـیـعـ اـمـوـرـ شـرـعـ مـقـیـنـ وـ لـوـاءـ دـمـیـیـنـ مـهـاـمـ دـیـنـ دـاـ باـوجـ
شـہـرـ بـرـیـسـ بـرـافـرـاـ (۱۱) فـہـرـمـ
ذـاوـجـ آـرـهـانـ نـاـمـرـکـرـ لـکـ * نـدـاـشـمـ دـیـسـسـ فـہـرـمـ اـرـ اـیـزـنـ پـاـکـ

و مهایف لطایف صلوات و سرایف و هنایف و ایشان
روند آن خلاصه هست دعا کاپنات و (بده) ۱۰-۱۱-۱۲
موحدودات که بیانیع علوم - مع هنایا از بحیر معرفت
دانس او نظره ایس - و مصادیم معارف - مع نسلای
از مساری آنکه معرفتیں ذرا و دنگان

مقتدای السما سلطان دارا ۱۱ دین

سد اولاد آدم و حجه الل تعالیس

و برآل و امداد و احباب که ادکان دولت و دین
و اعلی حضرت سیدک الہ وسلمیین اند مصلی اللہ علیہ
و علی آلہ الی عادیں و حاذیۃ الرانیین و امداد
امان اما بعد حسن گوید بددہ فکر و ذرا
و راجی من اللہ العاکم الاندی محمد فاضل بن
علی بن محدث ۱۱ کتبی القاصی السرقندی فخرالله
ذوبہ و ستر ۶۶ که از ایام صنا تا مقام التها
هر ۷۷-۷۸ مصایل و کمالات می مود و از روایت ناییں
علماء زمان و فوایم مصالح نصلامه دووان حظی تمام
ام می شود و بعد از ترکیع مطالعه ناییں اللذون
بی هر ایس الغیور و ستنی اللئار و حدایق الانوار
و می از مواید ۴۴ نصلامه نصاحت شعار ایس مردم
هم ۳۷ که خلاصه الفاظ حواصر آبدار و (بده) مظاهر
معنی ابکار آنها را مع نکود فواخر احمد و حرف دیر
حدد بی مقدار که ازین حاکساد تا اشتھار دارد ۴۵-۴۶

حاجه مواد رنگار آورده نه فکری ما هسته همی بوسه و پیده ده.^{۳۰}
 علم نرتیه دهه و موضوع هر یک را بهمان فارسی
 مرسبیل احتصار نهان «بندهام وادسه ترتیه ادتهام»، اید
 بروجی که «مینید خاص و عام و هسته همی جمیع طوایف».
 امام زاده چون روی امید ده کرم کریم حاوید کرد و ذریعه
 انتقام و افسوسار دمیان آورده لاحرم از مردماء ویاصل ۲۱ی
 الاطلاق باوهون عدم استهانه ای و اقام ام آن امر هایم مشرف
 شد و داده ام آن بخ غسل حسیم ستسعد گست و آنرا دیگوار
 العلوم^{۳۱}، ایونی موسوم گردانید و مسوایات متندوعه آنرا
 پنهانه و بحاله خاقان^{۳۲} سهم^{۳۳}، آذنه خالم

و صفت احتمام داد و حملعه نی و ساختهش را دهار مدهح
 حضرت مراجعته ران هماره و دات معهدهن سماوهش را دندیده.^{۳۴}
 (fol. 2a) ۱۰۰ رت سلیه ای هرگز گردانید که «ماهه
 هسته مادرس مورد آثار دیوهنات الهی اس» و باطن
 قدر نهاده هیاهی همینه ای اسوار الهامات داده داهی - هابع
 امایعه هن عارف معارف همیم^{۳۵}، ایل و که الات و ذهن شریه^{۳۶}،
 و اهه^{۳۷}، مسوأه^{۳۸}، جمیع معهودلات و مدقولات^{۳۹}، گنی همیس^{۴۰}،
 دهه^{۴۱}، تنس درجه و یم قوایم ملته^{۴۲}، عرا و تشیید دعایم^{۴۳}،
 دیوهن سمهود اس^{۴۴} و گمایی اوقات^{۴۵} هسته سامقی^{۴۶}
 دهه^{۴۷} هسته^{۴۸} حال مرسایم هرگوار و دندیده^{۴۹}، هم رادات
 عالیه قدار و دعای^{۵۰}، ایام اعلام و نهودی^{۵۱}، امور^{۵۲}، ایة اسلام
 هم دور اینی^{۵۳} حم حاه سلیه ان دستگاه سکنیه روزاب آهان

فک جمیل مقام خورشید حسام فریدون در گردی مقر
الحمد - م کواكب خدم مهر مکان سپه مکین ملایک لسان
ارایک نسخ صبح سمعای آنکه دای ستاره درم دریا کرم
ناظم مناظم سر افراری ملوي ارکان ملک دیواری معزالسلطنه
والخلافه ۲۵ هـ همایوی پای شاه العاری

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ وَبِحَمْدِهِ سَرِيرٌ إِيمَانٌ عَلَى الْعُلُكَ
الرَّأْيِ وَبِبُسْطِ مَلَكَتِ الْأَقْلِيمِ السَّاعِدِ
اسندواری بكمال کرم کردگاری انکه مستعدان مجلس
ائیشوف اهلی ارقام این ادراک افادت انعام دا بهزف قبول
مسروق سارند و بدور این احرابی بلاعث فرجام را ممنظور
نظر اعتبار گردانیده ببرلات ما دراللسان نیند از لد و رام

خداؤند ا جو از بین هنایب
عایت بالطافی که اندرا د

کرم کردی بمن تولیق قالیف
مرا دادی تو استعداد تصادیه

که تصادیه مرا مقبول گردان بمن دان
بتری ۱۴۰ سمعان

بیری من دری از نصل بکسا
خطاهای قلم را هفو نرم

۱۰۵- مذکور اسے بھی قسم قسم اول،

دردیان شرفِ آدم و سیلیلہِ علیہ - هرچند اپنات ایں
دی دی و تھی مدعی احتیاج دیا۔ ویرہان و حادث
دلایل و دیاں دلدار دیرا، کہ دعیع طوایہ، اصم و دم افراد
رمی آدم و شرف، عاداتِ علم معرفت اند و عدم ہے سیل
کہ الاتِ مذاہ، اما تیہ، اور کامی از آجھہ در کہ،
اوی مدنور اسے و از احادیث، دوی ٹھہر و از
ارباب، غوس قدیم، کور گشته، لی میل الادھال
و طاود، یگوئی از دیگر دو قرآن صفحہ ۲۷۸

و فرقان ۱۹۴، ۱۹۵، ۱۹۶، قال اللہ تعالیٰ
ھل دینوی الدین یعلمون والدین لا یعلمون # ج ۱۰۴
ا، تراہیان ایمان بواسطہ شرفِ آدم و دشمنان حشد
ا، و ملک مالم تکن تعلم و کان مسلیل اللہ آئیا، میا، #
حضرت عرب ناوجوہ چندیں رار اماں و اماں کہ
دی بھائی و سیدھرت رہا، عہدیو، فرمودہ ۱۹۵: پڑھ جیر سروی مدد
دیکھاں الادعلم ایا، دالہ و اطیع والروز و اولی الامر منکم #
اکثر سی ران دریں اند کہ مراد ار اولی الامر
دریں مہام عالماء، یترفع الاماء الدین آمادو یمنکم والدین
اوتوالعلم درجات، اول، المد حکوم اند ددرجہ مومنان

را و بعد ازان فرموده که در حاتم مرافق علم راست و ازین
حا لازم آید که در حاتم اهل علم از در حاتم دیگران بی در
بهود و النجه در این مدل کوچ است از مقا تابن ۱۰ ان
منقول است که حق تعالیٰ قوموده ^{آسم}^{۱۳} که یا
۱۴ - ه عظم ^{۱۵} اه و أعرِف ^{۱۶} همَّا همْ فانی همَّا همْ على
۱۷ - ه خاتم الائمه ^{۱۸} ن والرئاس ^{۱۹} كفضل ^{۲۰} س على
الکواكب و كفضل الآخرة على الدُّنْيَا و كنهای معلى
کل شیء [#] يعني ما ه تهادم کن تو علماء و
۲۱ - ه ایشان را ^{۲۲} هی که من ترجیح
کرده ام ایشانها برو ه مع خلق خود مگر انسیا و
۲۳ - ه ران مرل و نصل ایشان مثل نصل و سرف
آنثار ش برو کواكب و مثل نصل و شرف آخرت است برو
دُنْيَا و مثل نصل و سرف من است برتقان ^{۲۴} ملوقات
و ^{۲۵} ایشانه شار احادیث ^{۲۶} مذکور ۱۰ - قال
علیهم السلام الدُّنْيَا عالم او ^{۲۷} ه سائر الناس
کا ^{۲۸} هم لا خبر لهم [#] يعني مراد از انسان یا عالم است
یا مه ام و باقی مردمان حسون مه ^{۲۹} الله که در ایشان
نیکوتی ^{۳۰} س و قوله ^{۳۱} علیهم السلام ادب الناس
من درجة النبوة (fol 2b) اهل العلم والجهاد [#] يعني از
مردمان درجه نبوت اهل علم و اهل حباه اند

وقوکه علیهم السلام بدل العالم على العادل کهنهلى
على ادبي کم مرده - عالم بور عادل چون صریحه میست در
ادبی سما قوکه علیهم السلام یسعی يوم
القیامه دلمه الادبیاء دم العلماء تم السیداده - یعیی در درود
قیامت حلقة راسه طادعه رهاعه کهنهله دایسید ادبیا
و چنانچه و شهیدا و قوکه علیهم السلام من صلیی حله،
عالیی من العله ایه تکانه صلیی حلله، یعنی من الادبیاء
یعیی هر که در گدارد در حق عالیی از علماء اکتویا در
گدارده است در حق یعنی در اینجا میان قال علیهم السلام
او سل العالی مایه تام الناس الیه # یعنی او سل عالم آن
علم ایه که احتیاج هر دهان دهان یزیره بود -
در فواید الفتاوی او زنگنه که پیدغامبر و فرموده
صلی الله علیه وسلم هر عالیی که دهد موئیی را حلم
دیاموره حق نهاده و دعا لی در درود قیامه هروار قلادة
ار دواه رگردن او کند و دعو مايد غریزه تگان را ناده دهند
ار دواه او دهد هر موئیی که درین او دوه نواب حجج
اکبر و هر که یله داب او علم دیاموره اگرچه یله جمله
ماهه دهی دهایی نواب همتا دیه دران باو اوزانی
دارد و هر که یله داب او علم دشده چنان یاند که
دهله ایه که قیمه... آن هزار دینار ایه آزاد کرد فائزه

و نار حیدر آسمت غر که در راه طلب علم عماره
 بزرگده او سیند حق تعالیٰ بدن او را از انس دلهم
 نگاه دارد و بیرون آمدۀ آن تا که حق سلطانه و
 تعالیٰ کوچه آن بندۀ است مقدار دنباو فردانے تمام
 حیدر بار در ترازوئے نهاده سود کسے که حب علم
 درونی مزا نوئے ادب پرس عالیه سسته باشد و نیز
 در حیدر آسمت که عرقه پلک روک در طلب علم گذاره
 در بزرگ حق تعالیٰ بهتر ناسد از عبادات خوار ساله و در
 دو از العناوی آورد (۱۸)، که هر که یک رم در
 طلب علم صرف کند حنان باشد که مقدار کوه
 این ترس زر در راه حق تعالیٰ صرف نموده باشد تسم نام
 در ویا تجویفها وقت یم جمیع افراد علوم معموله
 و توصیه تمامی انواع روزون ملتویه - مدان که علم
 بحث استرال لفظی بجند معلی مسعمل اس کامی
 معلی صفتی بود که مردم تبرگردد و ناین معنی
 علم از قصد مقوله کیف باشد و گاهی معنی مصدری
 و معنی هالست آید و بین تقدیر از قصد مقوله
 مضاف بود و گاهی معنی دل صورت حبیه در عمل
 آید و ناین اعتبار از مقوله انفعال باشد و گاهی
 به معنی اعتماد حازم مطابق نایب و گاهی معنی حکم
 بر قوع نسب و بین دو تقدیر از مقوله بعد است و
 گاهی بر حمل تصدیقه اطلاق نایبله از مسائل که

رائع دائم آنها دسوار موضوع واحد پیوود، علم
فقه و علم طب، و علم فتوح و امثال آن داین را
دانند. دائم دانند و علم مفہومی سماه، دو نوع اس،
حکمی و آن، حکمی آنس، که دست اول مکتوب
اربعه و جمیع اقوام علی السویة باشد چون علم
الله و علم حیثیة، و ادب آنس، که نه دعوی است از اقوام و
اربعه ممکن در این چون علم مکتو و صرف که مفہومی
بر قوایین عربیه اس، نه بر قوایین اهل عرس و علم
حکمی دو نوع ای، حکمی و حکمی دلطی - و
حکمی، دهاری ممارقس، از ۱۵ است تن چیزها چنانچه ناید
و حکمی، دهاری دهاری - حکمی، دهاری سه قسم ای، اعلی
دهدار طلاق، دهاری - حکمی، دهاری سه قسم ای، اعلی
دواوی، و اعلی و ایس سه قسم هشتاد و نه بر چهارده علم
اس، چنانچه هر یک مددکور میشود اول علم اعلی،
که موضوع او در حارح و دهیں دیگر ماده ای، چون
معزف، الله و ملة و دفوس و وحدت و کفرت و عادی
آن و ای اول ایس علم در دو قسم ای، معرف، الله و منادی
متداولات از عقول و دفوس و ایس قسم ای اول را علم
الله دویی الهیات حواله دو و معرف، امور عامه چون
معرفت و حرف و حدوب و قدوم و اعمال آن و ایس قسم دوم
را ۱۴ فلام، اولی داشت داوم علم ای دعوی
علم ریاضی (fol 3a, begins on page 89)

که مودع او در ذهن ماده ندارد و در خارج بین ماده نمود
حیث اسکال و دواہر و اعداد و امثال آن و اصول این علم بر
چهار قسم است هندسه که عبارت این از معرفت مقابله
و اسکال و خط اما و لواحق آن و هلم ^{۱۰} که عبارت
این از معرفت اوضاع احرام علوی یا احرام سفلی و علم
تالیف که عبارت است از داشتن تالیفات حیث تالیف
نهضات و حرکات و این علم را موصقی خوانند و علم تالیف
الباطن ^{۱۱} از عربی و فارسی که ^{۱۲} رص لوموند مانند نشاند
روز علم آسفهل یعنی علم طبیعی که موضوع او در
خارج و ذهن ماده دارد چون انسان و حیوان و مانند آن
و اصول این علم بر ^{۱۳} قسم است معرفت معلوی
^{۱۴} رات حیث صولیو و صورت و زمان و مکان و سکون و حرکت
و امثال آنرا علم اسما ^{۱۵} می نامند، معرفت احشام ^{۱۶}
و مرکمه و معرفت احکام بساط هلوی و سفلی حیث اللال
و کواكب و هناظر و امثال آنرا علم اسما هم گویند که
آنها ایشان ^{۱۷} ریهه بازها خواهد بود معرفت ارگن
و تبدل و ^{۱۸} تولد و نظایر آنرا مدل علم کسب‌گیری از
جهود و نکار س و حل و هند و مدل اکسر و مدل آنکه
آب ^{۱۹} سود و ^{۲۰} پگداز و آب گرد و آتش هوا
سود آنرا علم کیون و نساد نامند و معرفت اسما حواریت
هوائی حیث برقی و رعد و صافته و هله و باران و رزله و امثال
آنرا علم آثار ^{۲۱} خوانند و معرفت مرکبات و ^{۲۲} کرده
ترکیبات حواضر و احسان و کدری - و سیل و مانند آن را

علم معادن گویدند و معرفت انسان نامهیه و قوای آن چون
 کیفیت همه کاری دیگرها در رمین و برآمدن قوای آن
 در دنیا و درازی و کوتاهی و کمکی و راستی ناچهای و درست
 برگها و کیفیات در اردش و ودا و مادند آن را ۱۸ م
 ادات خواهد و معرفت احوال انسان مقابله کرده بحث کرد
 از اینکی و مهندسی حرکات و قوای ایشان چون معرفت و حوس
 و های در و کیفیت انساب و آورده و شرائین و اختلاف صور
 و حیرانیات و مذاشر طبایع و امراض و مهندسی اخلاق و احوال
 و دوام این را ۱۸ م احوالات نامند و معرفت ۱۸ م جو احوال
 فتنی فاطقه اند اندی و چگونگی ملکیت و مصرف چون
 کیفیت دوح و بودن او دا هل درین دین یا ارج یا مکانیکی ماده دند
 یا مین یا عرض یا دوهر یا جسم و اهمیت آن را ۱۸ م دعس
 و وس خواهد همکاری و ملکیت چهار ۱۸ م اسناد
 همکاری خالقی یعنی ۱۸ م اخلاق که ناصلاخ
 در سیم تعلق دارد همکاری و متفاوتی یعنی ۱۸ م معادن
 همکاری همچنانی یعنی ۱۸ م مهالس و مهادر و
 همکاری بنا اندی یعنی ۱۸ م آداب عادک و ایشان چهار
 قسم بد مدل برچهارده ۱۸ م ای ای و علم ادب دیر مدت
 ای ای برچهارده علم و ۱۸ م مهاطره و ۱۸ م مهاطق
 را دیر مامت ادویات داشته اند چنانچه عد کرد
 هزا هفت شصت ۱۸ م دین دو نوع ای ای ۱۸ م احکام

دین و علم حکم متنی - علم احکام دین ۵ و نوع اس - علم احکام علمیه و علم احکام اعتقادیه - علم احکام ۱، مانظاهر تعلق دارد یا مسلطن - علم احکام که تعلق بظاهر دارد علم نه اس و علم احکام ۱، که تعلق سلطن دارد علم تصوف اس و علم احکام اعتقادیه آگر موافق قوانین سربع غیرا مشک علم کلام اس و علم حکم سه نوع اس علم ۱ در علم حدیث و علم اصول نه و اسامی نزوع هر یک از علوم دینی و ۲ و ادبی نه تمام در فهرست این ۱۰۰۰ سعادت انعام مذکور است و ۳ در والله اعلم به این امور قسم سوم از مقدمه در سیان تعداد اینها و فهرست این کتاب در از نهضت کرم همایون الهی و نشان نعم م نامتناهی این بندانه بتدوین، تالیف این دیروز کلیز علوم و آداب و ۴ ملل اهل نسل و خطاب اعلی ۵ و کمالات انسانی و ۶ سعادات اهل معانی مصرف سه علوانات متعدد آنرا هر طبق مختارمات ۷ بدره بسرف نظام ۸-۹ لرحم ۱۰ام گردانید و مقالات ۱۱ عددی اینها هر یک این مرقومات مذکوره بسعادت اتمام فریده انعام رسانید قبلاً آن قسم اول او مقاله اویل او کتاب ۱۰ ۸ ۱۱ جواهر العلوم را ۱ در علم خط نایاب ۲ در علم اسا نایاب ۳ در علم سعر را ۴ در علم قایمه بایاب ۵

تعداد آن قسم دوم از مقاله اولیا از کتاب،

حواله‌العلوم

باو، ۱ در علم تئوری الایمنی باو، ۴ در عرفی
تاریخ مملوک فرس که عمل از عهد یاده از ملدن
بوده ازد باو، ۳ در علم سیرالایمی و یوان معجزات

در ام معرفت پاو، ۶ در علم معنوی و حل معیقات
اعیان حسین و یوان ذرع پاو، ۷ در علم مذاق و نایع
شعری و اطهار مسرور پاو، ۸ در علم اهلیه و مذاقیات
باو، ۹ در علم احوال و کایات بر بیل قشیده
و استعدادات پاو، ۱۰ در علم افسوس و بیان واسع آن
باو، ۱۱ در علم صرف پاو، ۱۲ در علم دمه و
باو، ۱۳ در علم معانی پاو، ۱۴ در علم چیان
باو، ۱۵ در علم مذاقات هنر و معقوله پاو، ۱۶
در علم مقاید پاو، ۱۷ در علم معرفه الهیات
باو، ۱۸ در علم امور عامه پاو، ۱۹ در علم احترافی
باو، ۲۰ در علم حکمت پاو، ۲۱ در علم مذاق
باو، ۲۲ در علم مذاطره و آداب المنهج دهنهام

و دکتر معراج پاپ ۳ در معرفت والاعت و فزووات
نبوی و بیان اوصاف خانه کسنه پاپ ۵ در معرفت
اوصاف پاپ ۶ در معرفت

اوصاف و احوال حمع پاپ ۷ در معرفت
تاریخ سلطنت که بعد از پاپ ۶ بهزاداند تا
مهدندگان حضرت صادق اوان پاپ ۷ در معرفت
تاریخ پندگان حضرت صادق اوان و اولاه و احمدان
بزرگوار ایمان پاپ ۸ در علم انساب پاپ ۹

در علم مقالات عالم پاپ ۱۰ در علم سیرومنامات طبقه
اولی از اولین پاپ ۱۱ در معرفت مراثیات و متمامات طبقه

نایه از مشایع طریقت از خواجہای ۱۲ و خبرم
ویان متأخره مزارات اسا و اولیا و بیان طرح و وضع
خانه کسنه پاپ ۱۳ در سان مصائب المخلوقات از

امور اخربی و دینبوی - تهدیان قسم اول از مقاله

دویم از کتاب جواهرالعلوم - پاپ ۱۴ در تهدیب
اخلاقی پاپ ۱۵ در علم تحلیله نفس از اوصاف ذمیه

پاپ ۱۶ از علم معلش در معرفت حربی والدین و اولاه

پاپ ۱۷ در بیان معاملات با زوختات پاپ ۱۸ در معرفت

اداب استندام پا، ب، ۶ در معرفت حقوقی ه، الیک
پا، ب، ۷ در معرفت حیران پا، ب، ۸ در علم مصالح و
محکم بر پا، ب، ۹ از ۱۰ ادب ملوك در دیان ۱۰ حقوق
عایا بر ملوك پا، ب، ۱۰ در ۱۱ علم حقوق ملوك در عایا
پا، ب، ۱۱ در دیان هر، در ادراجه رنامه پا، ب، ۱۲
در دیان هر، درس نامه و دعویه از حیوانات پا، ب، ۱۳
در دیان هر، قوس نامه پا، ب، ۱۴ در دیان هر،
مار نامه و مریده پا، ب، ۱۵ در علم شرح احصا پا، ب، ۱۶
در هر، کلیات طبی پا، ب، ۱۷ در دیان ادب «تنه
نم رویخ و ما یتولق رها پا، ب، ۱۸ در دیان
۱۸ دین پا، ب، ۱۹ در دیان معالله ات های
پا، ب، ۲۰ در دیان حیات پا، ب، ۲۱ در دیان ۱۸
قرابا دین یعنی هر، ادویه هر، و مركبه
نه ترقیت حروف تهی پا، ب، ۲۲ در امراض عین
قد، آن قسم دوم از مقائله دوم از کذا، پا،
جو، آن العلوم - پا، ب، ۲۳ در ۱۸ مدادات در مذاهه
ارمه پا، ب، ۲۴ در علم مذاکه ات و ملمیفات -

باب ۳ در علم معاملات باب ۳ در معرفت حقوق
وشهادات و ماناسب بجهة ۱۱- مادرات باب ۵ در
علم عقوبات و حنایا باب ۶ در علم فرانس و
۷ در مواريث و ایجاد قواعد حدود جهه ۱۰ و صرب و
۸ در حساب باب ۷ در علم ادب الفانی
و متفرقات (۱۰ در مباحث و فصایا و مصالح) باب ۸
در علم صکول و تعالیات باب ۹ در علم معاهد و
دعایی باب ۱۰ در علم - هلاک باب ۱۱ در علم
تعویی باب ۱۲ در علم اصول نقد باب ۱۳ در علم این- اب
باب ۱۴ در علم صد و ایماد و حله - و حرمت اکثر
حیوانات باب ۱۵ در علم سن و احکام باب ۱۶
در علم ادب طعام باب ۱۷ در معرفت امور مباحه
باب ۱۸ در معرفت مواتید متفرقه و لطائف نهاده-
باب ۱۹ در علم سود و نصایم تعدادی اند قسم اول
از مقاله یوم از کتاب حوا هقراء اوم- باب ۲۰
در علم روح حلقاط ۲۱ ترآئی باب ۲۲ در علم
قراءات بنظم (fol. 48) باب ۳ در علم حواس

اوراد هیئت و تردد مسیده بوده بهنام و عرب المحر
 در آیات باهی در این ادعیه ماثوره و دعوات همراه
 باهی در این مدیت باهی در عالم اسول مدیت
 باهی در معرفت قواعد و اصلات مذکوره باهی
 در این راوند باهی در این فتوحیه و مرآه مذکایه ایت
 باهی این در معرفت مهاده ایت باهی در معرفت
 مقامات و مرآه آن باهی در این حقیقت قعده ایت
 قدم دوم از ملة الله بیوم از کتاب، جواہر الاعوام
 باهی در معرفت دیم شهی و زاری و اختیار راعات
 باهی در معرفت استخاره راح دیم و هدکه نجومی
 باهی در معرفت این کام ذهدم باهی در این
 هیئت باهی در این اسماه لاب و دیان صنعت آن
 باهی در معرفت کره اعلان باهی در معرفت
 اقسام سمع باهی در این سور کواری باهی در
 در معرفت ملة الله و ملة عالم باهی در علم
 تکریر باهی در این انداد و قیمت باهی در

در علم حروف پاپ ۱۳ در علم حفر حامع
 پاپ ۱۴ در علم طایف پاپ ۱۵ در علم
 سوریعات پاپ ۱۶ در علم کسما پاپ ۱۷
 در علم یا پاپ ۱۸ در علم دعواه اسماء و
 هرایط آن پاپ ۱۹ در علم دیگر کواکب
 پاپ ۲۰ در علم عزایم پاپ ۲۱ در علم رمل
 پاپ ۲۲ در علم حساب پاپ ۲۳ در علم
 مساحت و جوال تعالی و بیان صفات پاپ ۲۴ در
 علم ایجاد پاپ ۲۵ در علم تیامت پاپ ۲۶
 در ریاضیات پاپ ۲۷ در معرفت اسلامیات
 و علم سانه و طالع - آن و معرفت تعالی و تطبیق اسلام
 آن پاپ ۲۸ در معرفت طالع موالید و زایجه طالع
 پاپ ۲۹ در معرفت اسکال اقلیدس ناپ ۳۰
 در علم متسطات ناپ ۳۱ در علم موسیقی ناپ ۳۲
 در علم نرم و ورم که - کماله هند درین علم کتب
 نهاده نموده اند پاپ ۳۳ در علم

هادم کید و صدیق و حلبی و حرمہ۔ آنها دو دویں
و دیان دو اسر فاظ، دو علامات قیامتی، و احوال آخرت -
باء۔ اول از قسم اول از مقالات او لیل از هزار،
رواہر العلوم - دیوان علم خود مشتمل بر بیش
دویل - فصل اول دار قیود نهاده بیان داده
نمایست از معروض تصویر کمالات و تحریر قرکیبات از
حروف معرفه، اصول تهذیب و کیمیا، مایع و انداف آن
سازمان صنعتی، کتابخانه و صحفه، حکای و این مناقیب، سکه، حروف
تراتیب عربیش مائیع گردز مرادات دو حفای
.....الخ

In the abovequoted preface of the author several points are of special interest, of which the following deserve notice.

1. The work was the greatest and most important literary undertaking in Humāyūn's reign.
2. The author's idea of writing an Encyclopædia in that age, with the object of presenting it to a Mughal emperor in India, and not to any other Eastern monarch of a neighbouring country, is significant, and throws ample light on the literary taste of, and patronage shown by, the Mughal rulers.
3. The then prevailing system of writing chapters and headings in red ink, with



Facsimile of the Title Page of
"JAWÄHIR UL ULUM HUMAYUNI"
[Author's family possession]

- the number of page indicated on the w.
of each in black ink, is somewhat pecu-
liar though at the same time very
simple (vds face of fol 3b)
4. The exceptional command and patience of
a copyist to write out such a voluminous
work in absolutely one hand and one
style from the beginning to the end
with distinctive accuracy elegance and
neatness, is an important feature of the
time and shows the height of excellence
achieved in the art of calligraphy. Also
their mode of crossing and correcting
mistakes by enclosing the rejected portion
with ^{is} inserted in the beginning and ^{is}
at the end is indicated in face. fol 1b
5. The subjects discussed in the work consti-
tuted ^{سیاست} (current sciences) which
were commonly taught in the educational
institutions in those days and formed
the main basis of learning
6. Arabic characters were generally employed
in writing books of Persian language,
and specially in literary and scientific
books. Even the poetical works of stand-
ard poets were all written in naskh (Arabic
characters) while Persian characters
(nasta lig) were more commonly used in
works of less important character and
light literature such as State documents,
foreign correspondence, firman and
official and private letters.

The reason of composition is given by the author in the following words :

و در هر الات و بیع اوقات دعایه های دو
قیام مینموده بس با اططر این خطاور کرده که قیام آن و
بزرگ آلات و معاملات را طریق یادگاری داده
فرابخود قدر کرده اید

And in all circumstances and at all times he had stayed in the service of his Majesty, so it occurred to his mind that he should record, as a memorandum and a boon and a blessing, the events and anecdotes, according to his own intellectual capacity.

He entered Humāyūn's service as an ewer-bearer at a very young age, and attended him Jauhar faithfully during his reverses and flight from Hindūstān. Though not a very learned man, he is the author of a very important work which is of special historical value as being a faithful and unbroken record of Humāyūn's private life during his exile. It was undertaken long after Humāyūn's death in the year 995 A.H.¹

¹ Ibid , fol 2a

² Tarzirat ul Wāqī'at, B.M MSS Add 16, 711, fol 2b A copy of this work (inferior to the B.M Codex) is also in the I.O Library

For a critical estimate of Jauhar see Raverty's article in the J.R.A.S,

A summary of its contents is given below.

- I Humāyūn's fight with Sultan Bahādūr Gujārātī and the conquest of Gujarat.
 - II His contests with Shér Sháh and temporary victory and occupation of Bengal.
 - III Subsequent attack by Shér Sháh and Humāyūn's defeat his pluck while crossing the river help given by a water-carrier who was afterwards made to sit on the royal throne at Āgra for half a day (*du sū af*) 'In reward for his signal service.'

¹ A *sāat* ~~and~~ should not be understood in the strict sense of an hour. The day was then divided, as it is now, into four *sāat* or *phari* (also known as *pās'* or *paht*) Gulbadan Begum calls these *dt* hours by the last name Cf.—

کا می پھر قب مصلح یوہ .. بند لازم ہو رہ آسایں
لیونلڈ

{ Hamby's Name, p. 37 }

These divisions of time were essentially Indian and had puzzled Babur greatly. The above statement that the day was divided into four *as* at first supported by Farishta also, who, in this instance intends to divide it into half a day. Cf.—

در مهندسی که پاکتیکی تئوری را پیدا نمود، بزرگانه بود
از این خارج چون تجربه همان قسم جمله است

It may however be noted that Gulbadan Begum differs from both Janbar and Farhatia, and declares that the *mawali* sat on the throne for two days. Cf =

تھوڑی بُل لکھ پا گاہمِ دادلہ
[Humāyūn Name, p. 44].

IV. Humāyūn's further reverses due to the hostile attitude of his brothers.

V. His flight to Persia; reception by Shāh Tahmāsp, the latter's evil designs against Humāyūn, and their aversion through the timely intervention of Bahrām Mīrzā's sister; help given to Humāyūn by the Shāh; conquest of Cābul; recruitment of soldiers for the attack on Hindūstān; death of Shēr Shāh, Humāyūn's entry into Āgra.

VI. His last days and death by an accidental fall from the staircase of his palace at Delhi.

The style is generally simple and unadorned though, at places he has, in conformity with the practice of the times, indulged into rhetorical expressions, probably to make a display of his knowledge, and inserted various quotations from the Qur'ān and the works of Persian poets

Like Jauhar, he too was in the retinue of Humāyūn during the latter's flight from Hindūstān, and wrote a work entitled '*Tārikh i Humāyūn*' at the request of Akbar.

The author's own version as to this undertaking is as follows

‘جوں مہاجہ حلال الدین مارڈ اکر، پادھا
فرمودیں اور دندھا۔ درگاہ ہریاں را کہہ لئیوہ تاریخ’

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پاسد نوہسند ملکہ از ایام سلطنت حضرت حلب آستانی
عایا ہوں ہادسہ اگر کسے ۱، ۲، ۳ خاطر حربے ماندہ
پاسد درواز درج نہیں دے دیا و مسلمان نامی ما قائم سارند و این
بڑوانہ ۱ نواب سمع المسایع سمع ابوالفضل ولد
سمع مغارل بے ملکیت بے شاہنہ (سلطند) -

Since Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar Padishah of Jamshid's dignity said, 'Every one from among the servants of the court who possess an aptitude for history may write it nay from the reign of Humayun Padishah if any one has any events in his recollection they (he) may insert them therein (history) and conclude it in my Majesty's name And this royal mandate was conveyed to humble Bn Yazid by Nawab Shaikh ul Mashāiijh Shaikh Abul Faiz son of Shaikh Mubarak. almost similar to Jauhar's in interesting in

The work is almost similar to Jauhar's in diction and style and is full of many interesting incidents of Humayun's and Akbar's private lives. It was undertaken at Lahore in the year 999 A H when the author was feeling the infirmity of old age.' A most important piece of information contained in the work is the list of scholars and sundry notable officers who accompanied Humayun from

3 Cf. the statement:

جسالی نستہ الخ (Bab 1) یہ موسیدہ ہے کہ ایک جو ان کنٹھے، ایک بڑا ہو اسے یہ دلائل رکھے۔

Persia, Cābul, and other territories, on his way back to Hindūstān.¹

His real name was Shaikh Nizām. He entered Humāyūn's service on his second entry into Hindūstān.

Maulānā Zāmīrī Bilgrāmī He is said to be an excellent poet of Humāyūn's court, and wrote several 'masnawis' and 'qasā'id' of which some he dedicated to the emperor. He died at an advanced age in 1003 A.H., and the chronogram of his death was found by one Nawāb Mubārak Khān of Delhi in the words 'اہ اہ نیزام' (*āh āh Nizām*). It is a happy coincidence that a poet of the same name also lived at the court of Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī, and was reckoned among the leading poets of his day. Besides his numerous 'qasā'id' in praise of the Shāh, a custom which very curiously prevailed both in India and Persia, and was a common feature of the two courts, he wrote several 'masnawis' of which the following were well-known :

- (i) *Wāmiq wa 'azrā.*
- (ii) *Nāz wa Niyāz*
- (iii) *Afsāna i Bahār wa Khizān*
- (iv) *Lailā wa Majnūn* (also called "sarguzasht i Majnūn")
- (v) *Jannat ul Akhyār*
- (vi) *Sikandar Nāma.*

He also left two 'dīwāns' entitled 'sahā'i*i amal'* and 'Iqd i la'ālī,' consisting mostly of 'qasā'id' in praise of the Shāh, and 'ghazal' and 'rubā'i' in

¹ Ibid, fols 72b-76a

praise of his beloved and on the transitoriness of this world and its vanities. He died in Persia thirty years before his namesake in India.

He was a descendant of Shaikh Ruknuddin Al-uddaula Samani and a pupil of Maulana Ishaquddin in logic and philosophy and of the famous Traditionalist Shaikh Ibn-i-Hajar II in traditions and theology. As a poet of Persian language he compiled a *diwān* and is mentioned by Abul Fa'� and Badī'īnī (both of whom derived their material from *Aṣaṭ al-Mā'āir*) as one of the poets of Akbar's reign. Bā'ī and however mentions the khwāja under Humayūn as one of his constant associates. Some specimens of his poetry which is full of subtleties peculiar to India are as follows:

۱۰۔ از مرہ یے تو آب دلتہ
دُل دیدہ خسال و خوار دلتہ

O thou without thee from my eye-lash the
water flowed
And from the eye the thought and the sleep
departed

¹) See the list of scholars who accompanied Mumtaz on his second entry into Hindostan (Tariq-i-Hamayun, 10 MSS., fol.71a) Also cf. fol. "7b -

میں مددگاری دے گواہ سے ہوں گے گواہ اپنے اپنے لبریک
اپنے چاند کے اعلیٰ لکھتے ہوں گے اس

¹ *Brahman Vol III p 377*

٢٥٥ را ۱۰۰ چندانکه مسودی نہ ودی
اویوس آبے سانکھ دودھی نہ ودھی
Thou hast shown thyself to us in the form
that was not thine,
Alas, the manner in which thou hast shown
thyself thou wast not

۲ ساما گرہ جو سما دار اسرو مگندا
ما چورا... جو بیسا دل ان کش و دی
In association with us thou hast cast a knot,
like a bud, in thy eye-brow,
In company with others thou hast opened the
lip like a smiling pistachio.

۳ آدم کہ مالک سخن ملک من اسیں
صراف حرف صورتی ملک من اسیں
پیغام کن ز دیت، من وردی سیں
اسرار دو کون در، رکاء من اسیں
I am such that the dominion of speech is my
property,
The banker of Wisdom is the tester of my
string of pearls ;
The preface of Existence is a leaf from my
book,
The secrets of both the worlds are on the
point of my pen.

He wrote a versified translation of the famous
Hindi work ‘*Sanghāsan Battisi*’ entrusted to his care

¹ Ibid

² Ibid.

³ Ibid

by Akbar It remained unfinished when he left India in 980 A H for Câbul where died soon after His poetic powers and erudition may well be judged by the fact that Faizi was his pupil and was brought up and trained by him. When the Khwâja took leave for Câbul, Faizi found the date of this event in the words *اب پا* which are used for no less respectable a person than one's father or guardian One of his marvellous compositions is a qasida which he wrote and presented to Akbar on the occasion of Jahângir's birth in 977 A H It was considered as a masterpiece of surpassing skill ever designed by any one before him. The author himself seemed proud of its production and challenged his colleagues (in the 18th verse) saying that no one from among the court poets could bring as a present anything better than that. It is so arranged through out that the first hemistich of every line gives the year of Akbar's accession to the throne while the second does that of Jahângir's birth. This shows the progress made in the art of chronogram so ardently taken up under the Mughal patronage

کوہر از ده حادثه جلال شهر پار

¹ Akbar Nama, Vol. I, p. 243.

NOTE.—The same with a high tribute of praise has been pronounced by J. Hangir with slight variants, in his *Tusuk*, p. 3, Ahgarh, 1864. Cf. his remark

اما دراجه سهی مزو از تقریباً هیج دست نیم تعداداً گذاشت
که ناتمام ساخته باشند توانند -

ہاتھو - از آئندہ ان حاہ و حود آمد، فروہ
 کو کسے از اوچ عرومار گردید آشکار
 گلمنے ایمگوہ ده، دید سر دور چون
 لالہ ریمگوہ نکڑوہ از میان لالہ راد
 شہاد نہ دلہا کہ نار از آر، ان دل و ۱۵۰
 مار دیما رسداہ تند کر مهر ایام دهار
 آن هلال درج تند و حود و حاہ آمد بیرون
 وان دهال آردو - ان تراہ آمد، دهار
 شاہ اقا یم وعا ساہان ایوان سما
 شمع حمع دیدلان کام دل امید، واد
 عادل کامل سہار، اکر ساحق زان
 پاد، اہ سامد، ار کام دوسرو کامگار
 کامل داما، قابل اعدال شاهان سدھر
 عادل اعلا، عاقل دیدل دورگار
 مایہ اما، اللہ آن لایق تاج و نگیں
 پاد تراہ دین پڑا، ان عادل عالم مدار
 مسجد لئن ویرا، ماہ چار میون دان وود، در
 صوک، ویرا، اک راء حم آمد دیزہ دار
 ذیر سرج وود، گوہر دریا، حود
 از را، اوچ دلہا ٹھاہ بازو حاں ٹھاکار
 پاد شاہا، ملکہ لولوے دھیس اور دہ ام
 ہدیہ کان گرامی مار حربیاں گوہن دار

کسی نسلوں صدیہ زم بے اگر دارہ کسے
 ھر کہ آرد گو سا حیرے کہ دارہ گو بیمار
 مصرع اول نوئے سال اور ہادیہ
 از دویم مولود نور نیدا عالم برآر
 تا ہوہ نافی حساب درج علیے ماہ سال
 وان حساب از سال و ماہ درج درگان ہایدار
 ساہ ما ہایندہ باد و باتی آن سہزادہ ھم
 درج علیے ہے اور سالہائے اور

The work is different from Khwāndamīr's *Hūmāyūn Nāma* already noticed under Babur. It was not written during Hūmāyūn's lifetime, but after his death by an unknown poet of an epic poem. *Hūmāyūn Nāma* of his or his successor's court. This is evident from the fact that Hūmāyūn is nowhere mentioned by name but by his posthumous title *jannat Zāhyani* while Akbar is mentioned as the ruling monarch. It is written after the style and metre of Firdausi's *Shah Nāma* commencing with the verse

شیء خاطرم بود نارع ن طواب
 دل از نور اسرای شد کامباب

Eight folios in the beginning and many at the end after 65b are missing. The author has attempted to follow Firdausi closely and to identify himself with him in the subject matter. This is

¹ Or 1797 B.M. MSS. fol. 9a.

perhaps the first instance in the literary history of the Mughals in India that the idea of writing an epic poem on the lines of Firdausi's *Shāh Nāma* and to idolise his hero, struck to a poet of Humāyūn's court. It is a valuable historical narrative of Humāyūn's and his predecessors' battles and conquests which are described in a language sufficiently worthy of the theme. A summary of its contents is as follows :

- I. Timūr's successors up to Humāyūn.
- II. Bābur's expedition to India, and his victory over Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodi at Pānīpat.
- III. Bābur's illness. News carried to Humāyūn and his hurrying to Āgra. Bābur's declaration of his successor in Humāyūn, and his death.
- IV. Humāyūn's coronation followed by a general feast. Great rejoicing in the country. Rich gifts given, and robes of honour conferred.
- V. His battles with Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī and Shēr Shāh. The latter's counter-attack and Humāyūn's defeat and flight across Sindh. Birth of Akbar at 'Umārkot.
- VI. His activities in Turkistān, Qandhār, and Cābul. His fight with Kāmrān. Defeat and pardon of the latter.
- VII. Humāyūn's taste for astrology and his prophecy regarding Akbar's future greatness.

VIII His second expedition to Hindūstān His battles with the Afghāns and Sikandar Humāyūn's victory and accession to the throne.

The author has at places imitated Firdausī so closely in loftiness of expression beauty of language and daintiness of similes that it is sometimes hard to distinguish which is which. He must be a great poet indeed from among the very best poets of Humāyūn's or Akbar's reign.¹ Some of his lines by way of sample are quoted below from the B. M. codex —

Lines on Humāyūn's communication and fight with Sultan Bahādur Gujarāti —

وَهُوَ مَنْ ; دَانَ دَلَى هُوَ شَفِي
عَادَ دَلَى نَصْرَ وَعَدَ بَكْسَ نَاهَ دَلَى
وَصَّا بَاتِوَامْ وَخُوشَ وَتَمَارَ
كَهَنْ سَانَ اِيشَانَ بُودَلَنَگَ وَهَارَ

¹ Shihab on the alleged authorship of Ratiāni states that Nazīrī, the famous lyric poet of Akbar's reign, had undertaken to write an epic poem entitled Shah Nāma i Humāyūn, which remained unfinished, at the suggestion of Bairam Khan. [Shihab-al-Ajam, Vol. III, p. 4.]

I was unable to discern in the references in Ratiāni, under both Nazīrī and Bairam Khan, Shihab; has evidently confused Nazīrī, with Mīrī, a less important poet, who, according to Bairam Khan had undertaken the task [Vids Vol. III, pp. 340-41] Ratiāni has also quoted one verse as sample which I could not find in the B. M. codex.

همان مادون عزت نهار
 دی خواهی عاری بنه ویش و تهار
 مرستاد و دهادر پوام
 که نادا ترا نیش و نیزت مدام
 هرمان روانشی دلی رفراز
 دنده دندی شاه دعای طراز
 یقین داده ار شکر افسوس و
 رسانشکری از ۵۰۰۰ دیروز شروع
 اگر د سو یعنی ذ مرمان دری
 تو یعنی رانه ام ایس داده ای
 من ار من الها ف کردم پوام
 تو د ایس د گر بعد از پس دادم
 دهادر جو ایس نامه را کرده گوش
 در آمد جو نابهه ردان در خوش
 نگاه داده شی سویس ایس نواب
 که آتش فروزن ذ دریا آب
 چو فارغ نهاد از عرض ای رنمه داشت
 دهوك زنان قسم ادبیار کاعر
 دهادر جو دیار مستی ده و
 دهاده گفتگی ها زنان مرکمود
 هرمان شاه دهین و زهان
 حهایی دهادی او ده روای

بُرْ أَمْدَ خَرْبَوْ دَوْ رَوْ بَهَاه
 بَهَ مَلْدَ وَرْ لَلَّدَ هَرْ دَوْ سَهَاه
 دَوْ دَرْجَاهْ إِكْرَهَهْ مَصَافْ
 بَهَهْ كَهْ كَهْ گَوْ بَرْهَهْ اَزْ كَهْ قَابْ
 بَهَهْ سَالِيَاهْ بَلَاهْ اَزْ حَلَمْ هَوشْ
 كَهْ هَرْ كَسْ اَزْ حَرَفَهْ كَرْدَهْ لَوشْ
 ۱۶۰۵ءَهْ اَنْصَمْ بَهْ دَيلِي حَمَارْ
 بُرْ أَمْدَ جَوْ اَزْ ۱۷۰۳ءَهْ كَارْزَارْ
 بَلَكْ بَرْهَهْ اَزْ ۱۷۰۴ءَهْ شَبْ كَهْ
 بَهَهْ مَسُورَتْ شَاهْ خَلَوتْ گَرْهَدْ
 سَرَانْ سَهَهْ ۱۷۰۵ءَهْ حَمَعْ أَمْدَدَدْ
 جَوْ بَرْوَانِهَا گَرْدَهْ شَعَعْ أَمْدَدَدْ
 كَهْ شَعَعْ ۲۷۰۵ءَهْ رَلَعَتْ حَلَبْ
 بَهْ بَرْوَانِيَهْ يَائِسْ اَزْ دَهْ خَطَابْ
 ۱۷۰۶ءَهْ - شَاهْ دَرْجَاهْ نَوَالْ
 كَهْ دَرْ صَفْ اوْ نَاطَقَهْ مَادَدْ لَالْ
 بَلَكْ كَهْ دَرْ بَارْ كَرْدْ
 جَهَلَيْ رَاهْ بَرْ اَزْ دَرْ شَهَوارْ كَرْدْ

Lines on Humayun's march from 'Irak to
 Qandhar and the capture of its fortress.

۱۷۰۶ءَهْ كَهْ خَاتَلَنْ خَارِرْ سَهَاه
 بُرْ أَمْدَهْ اَهَنْ ۱۷۰۴ءَهْ بَارَگَاهْ

ٿو ایم اریں چرخ دیا و فری
 نه عسکر بھا ماند و لے عسکری
 و لیکن نه ڈاھن ڈر آمد سراغ
 دل ۾ اق را رفیں ماڻد داغ
 چو ٿلۂ بان ترک ۾ ڪش ٿئاد
 فرد گفتگو در ٿلۂ ائش ٿئاد
 ولے آجنا اُتھے برفرو ڦیں
 که مانند ڈون دل دوسرو ڦو ڦو
 دیاں چریا دییند ٿام
 ٿو دی ۾ ھملس آرا هر حاص و عام
 خریدا سراتات ۾ ان شد، فراب
 ذر "رح هز" د دوان ٿر شراب

CHAPTER IV

The greater part of Humāyūn's reign was unsettled and chequered with misfortunes and exiles. The

<sup>For — of
Undeveloped
years reign.</sup> extent of progress made by Urdū in his reign is hardly ascertainable due to the scantiness of material but there could be no doubt that the same

was progressing steadily in the whole of Upper Hindūstān including the Punjab and the Gujarāt. The appearance of Hindi Persian poets in increasing numbers is a good testimony of the gradual hold of Hindi over Persian, and their mutual growth and free play with each other. An evidence of same is to be found in the talk of a parrot which was captured by Humāyūn in his fight with Sultan Bahādur Gujarāti. When Humāyūn led an attack on Mālwa in 942 A H Sultan Bahādur better known as Bahādur Shāh at the advice of his faith less General Rūmī Khān unwisely took refuge in the fort outside the city instead of meeting his enemy face to face in battle. The siego lasted for several weeks till at last Humāyūn's officers who had secretly won over Rūmī Khān to their side began to intercept the supplies of food sent to Bahādur Shāh which weakened the position of the besieged a great deal. In addition to this treachory Rūmī Khān one night caused his men to set fire to the royal magazine and this was followed by an attack from Humāyūn's troops who eventually entered the fort unmolested. Thus Bahādur Shāh was overcome

and fled to Gujarāt for his life. He had a favourite bird—a tūti which repeated what it heard like a human being. When it was brought to Humāyūn in the open court, Rūmī Khān also was invited by the king to be present. On Rūmī Khān's entering the court, Humāyūn courteously said, "خوش بیانہ در میں کاں" (welcome Rūmī Khān). The bird hearing his name screamed aloud "پابی دو می حاں تو نام ہے پابی دو نام" (Tut Rūmī Khān, sinner, untrue to salt, tut sinner, untrue to salt). All amazed, and Humāyūn said :

چکنہ دوہی ان ہے، کہ جا سور اسے، رداوار
— لالہ رہا ش از دھانش سر می کندام —

What can I do Rūmī Khān, alas, it is a bird, otherwise I would have pulled its tongue from its mouth.

The speech of the bird is a curious combination of Hindi, Persian and Arabic words, systematically arranged and put in a sentence.¹ This is perhaps the best example of Urdū that could be traced in the reign of Humāyūn, and serves to show how people were accustomed to talk in their homes and on private occasions. Of the many

¹ Mirāti Sikandarī MSS , dated 1087 A H , fol 107a

² Ibid , fol 108b

³ Ibid

⁴ Phit and Pāpī are Hindi, and namak Persian, compounded with harām, Arabic Also cf a similar instance of a parrot speaking Persian cited under Bābur [Supra, p 76]

poets cited under Humāyūn Badāūn has referred to some who composed both in Hindi and Persian. On the same authority we learn that their hybrid composition had found complete favour with the gentry and on several occasions sung before Humāyūn. Thus the already existing relations between Hindi and Persian had drawn closer and more friendly under Humāyūn than under Bābur. Both the Hindus and the Muslims now appear to have publicly given up their prejudices not only in the cultivation but also in the use of each other's literature.

A definite ad ^{an} made by Urdu under Hindu Muslim cultivation of each other's literature.

The Muslims though from the very beginning showed no such bias in the acquisition of Hindi language, yet they had not taken to do it so freely as they did now. The Hindus too in their turn owing to their unavoidable social and political relations with the Muslims were doing the same. The Rajpūt Princes and the Hindu Rajas for holding necessary communications with the Muslim conquerors kept at their courts a special staff well-equipped to deal with the original Persian documents. In certain cases where the papers were of a confidential nature, the Rajas themselves used to attend to them. Similarly the Muslims behaved and kept a competent staff ready at hand to cope with Hindi correspondence. A good instance of the Rajas writing to Shér Shah fictitious letters in Hindi with their forged replies in Persian which were purposely

Faked Hindi letters of Rajas to Shér Shah, and their supposed replies in Persian from the latter

thrown in the way of Rājā Māldeo, as a trap, and picked up and read by the latter personally, is to be found in the following.—

راحهها فو صدیق یا زاده نبود سیر ۲ اه آمدند و دو شورت
 شدید شاه که ایات از ربان امرا مالدیو داشتند هدایتی
 دشیر شاه بودند که ما نیاز ضرورت درین مدت
 اطاعت... مالدیو میگردیم... هرگاه آنکه شاه ائمہ اسلام
 برخیار نرسد ما از راه مالدیو خدا شرکه نه و که
 عالی ملک میگردیم و نی و ق ۳ ای مکاتیب... بیز از
 ربان سیر شاه دوستند که ایشان ایله تعالیٰ نعل از تهم
 و خودی - مالدیو شما را مهربان و مکرم داشته باشید ایاع
 موروثی آیا او ایاد شما را رسید ای ای ای میدارم... پس
 آن که ایات صبور را ملکهایه الکبیر ندانند... مالدیو
 اندانند و مالدیو که ۴ ایمه ای ای ای ای ای ای ای ای ای
 خود ایمه ایمه و دنده دنده در حاضر داشته ای ای ای ای
 مکاتیه هر ای
 او هر چنان، ایمه... کردند و ۵ هم دیدند

- او هر چنان، ایمه... کردند و ۵ هم دیدند

The Rājās obtaining opportunity came to Shēr Shāh, and in consultation with him wrote letters to him from the tongue of the Umarā of Māldeo in Hindi script, saying, "We through necessity did homage to Māldeo up till now. When the victorious army of Islām will reach near, we, having separated ourselves from Rājā Māldeo, will join your

Majesty's forces. And in accordance with these letters they also wrote from the tongue of Sher Shah stating God willing after our victory and subjection of Maldeo I will hold you in honour and esteem and will reinstate you in all your ancestral possessions. Thereafter they made those false letters fall through clever devices into the hands of Maldeo. And Maldeo who always entertained fear and anxiety in his heart against his Zamindars and Umard got terrified on perusing those letters and Kunhaiya and other nobles however much they counseled him it proved of no avail.

As a result of this harmony and interalliance

Growth of
Muslim poets
of Hindi lan-
guage and
Hindi writers
of Persian
prose and
poetry

Muslim poets of Hindi language on the one hand and Hindu writers of Persian on the other sprang up in ever so large numbers under the patronage of the later Mughal emperors.

During Humayun's absence from India the same feature prevailed in the reign of Sher Shah and the number of such poets as composed both in Hindi and Persian kept multiplying. The Muslim interest in Hindi literature under Sher Shah is evidently more marked than before due perhaps to his own predilections for Hindi. The appearance of a renowned poet of Hindi language Malik Muhammad Jai, who is described under Sher Shah marks a new era in the history of Muslim lore in India. It is a notable

departure from the old customary traditions of mixing Hindi with Persian, for his poems were composed in terse Hindi almost to the exclusion of Persian vocabulary.



SHER SHAH SEATED ON HIS THRONE

[From an album of Pathan Kings]

CHAPTER V

A portion of the period of Humāyūn's rule is covered by Sher Shah who held undisputed sway

Sher Shah
His name and
parentage of Hindūstān for five years during Humāyūn's exile. His real name was Farid and his title Sher Khān which was conferred upon him by Sultan

Muhammad ruler of Behār due to the extraordinary valour shown by Farid in killing a tiger. On his defeating Humāyūn and ascending the throne at Delhi he changed Sher Khān into Sher Shah. His grandfather Ibrāhim Sūr had come down to India from Afghanistan in the reign of Sultan Nābulī Lodi and served under him in various capacities. After Ibrāhim's death his son Hasan Sūr took service under Jamāl Khān an influential noble of Sikandar Lodi's court and received as jagir the important pargāns of Sahsrām and Khawāspur which remained for long a bone of contention between Farid and his brothers.

In his early youth he had left his home through domestic unpleasantness for Jaunpūr where he

His literary
attainment
and patronage
of letters busied himself in the pursuit of knowledge and acquired a taste for history and literature. He studied Arabic grammar up to hāfiyyā' and sundry works of Persian poets like Sa'di and Nizāmi

فرید وقتی بیت نامه هنرمندی بهدر و حکم موعده در ادران
حدادشده برک سوکری هـ ال حار دـ و دـ چندگاه در ~ و سور
نه ~ تحسیل علوم و کـ کـ الات هیگر رایید تا آنکه
کتاب کامیله را ناد و اهـ و دیگر محتـ هرات حواند و
ارکـ و اد گـ لـ سـ اـ و دـ و سـ اـ و سـ کـ مـ دـ رـ نـ اـ و عـ رـ آـ
دـیر استـ هـ سـ اـ رـ گـ رـ وـ هـ زـ اـ مـ وـ هـ دـ اـ رـ گـ شـ هـ
در صـ حـ دـ اـ لـ اـ مـ وـ هـ شـ اـ بـ حـ کـ هـ اـ آـ دـیـ اـ رـ دـ هـ دـ وـ هـ
احـ لـ اـ قـ هـ بـ عـ وـ لـ شـ دـ -

Farid due to the unkindness of his father and the enmity of his brothers, having separated from them, and resigned his service under Jamāl Khān, passed some time at Jaunpūr in gathering knowledge and the acquirement of perfections, till the time he read 'Kāfiya' with commentaries and other compendiums And he also read the *Gulistān*, *Būstān*, and *Sikandar Nāma* and other works besides, and having approached monasteries and schools, he busied himself in the purification of morals in the society of the learned and the great Shaikhs of that locality

- و در من ماریم دیر ماقوف شد -

¹ Badīuni, Vol I, 357

Also, refer Qānūngō's life of Shér Sh. h.

- Tazkira i Bagh i Ma'āni (bound with Nafā'i ul Ma'āni),
B.M MSS., Or 1761 fol 126a

And in the branch of history as well he became conversant.

Like his predecessor Sultan Sikandar Lodi he patronised the students of Arabic and Persian literature

A young student of Arabic rewarded by Sher Shah for cursorily answering questions on Arabic grammar
ture and attached great importance to educational merit in all public services. In his official and private life he had scholars and poets constantly attending him and was fond of listening to their literary discussions and participating in same. Once a Qazi of his court who was accompanied by a young student, came to see him. The keen interest evinced by the latter in the youth and the patronage shown to him is described as follows:

حوانی باقاعدی هزاره - سرمساء از قاضی پرسید
که این صراعی شما مددام که خوبی بسما داشته
باشد اما همچو ۴۰۰ سال هم دارد قاضی گفت طلاً مام
است کانیه سلطان و شاه سرنشاد حوس کانیه را با حداشی
پرسید پنجه طور داشت ازان طالع علم پرسید که هزاره
بیست یا هزاره هزاره طلاً مام هر چند نسود که هزاره
بیست یا هزاره هزاره دلیل طلاً لم از روی
نم داشتی بدلایل متفوی حواب هوس داشتند
بدایم

¹ Cf. Tariikh-i-Hind, Chapter 4, Section 4, Part 2, fol. 77a.]
Dated: H.M. MSS. Or 197 fol. 77a.]

Also Cf. Bīgīh-i-Mālik al-Kām, Mālik al-Kām, Bīgīh-i-Mālik al-Kām, fol. 80a]

Ibid. fol. 80a

شیرشاہ فرمود کہ بائیں دیگہ زمین و پادشاہ روپیہ
دقیل ناو ملکہ طالیع معرض دموہ کہ مددہ یک
قاداریہ... دیگر ھم ۵۰۰ شیرشاہ فرمود کہ کدام قاداریہ...
اے... گھوٹ حادثہ کلام رنابی ام شیرشاہ فرمود کہ
بادشاہ دیگہ و بادشاہ روپیہ دیگر دوی دیہ زایدہ مکارن.
آن حال از طالیع برسید کہ موافق قاداریہ... خود
معاش و رر دقد مائی عرض دموہ کہ ملے یا اقتام کرم
پادشاہانہ دیافتہم سیور شاہ فرمود کہ بادشاہ دیگہ
زمین و بادشاہ روپیہ نقد دیگر دیہ زایدہ -

A youth accompanied the Qāzī Shēr Shāh asked the Qāzī, "I presume that this comrade of yours bears some relationship with you, but does he possess any merit also?"? The Qāzī replied, "The youth is a student, and reads 'Kāfiya.' Shēr Shāh, since he had retained in his recollection the 'Kāfiya' with its correct commentaries, asked that student, "Is 'Umar 'munsarif' or 'ghair munsarif'?" The student replied, 'ghair munsarif.' Shēr Shāh said, "With what argument?" The student gave an intelligent answer with his arguments based on logical reasoning. Shēr Shāh ordered that 500 'bighah' of land and 500 rupees cash be given to him. The student said, "I possess one more merit" Shēr Shāh asked, "What is that?" The student replied, "I retain in my memory the Divine book." Shēr Shāh ordered that

500 bisat and 500 rupees more be added to his share. Simultaneously with that he asked the student 'Did you get the means of living and the cash money according to your means?' The student replied 'Yes I got them but I have not yet received the generosity of the king.' Sher Shah ordered that 500 bisat of land and 500 rupees cash more be added.

He had a good taste for poetry and composed verses both in Persian and Hindi under the pen name *Fard*. The following Persian verse of his own composition was his motto¹gram which he got inscribed on his seal.

الله ماتی ترا ناد دائم
بمان سرمه من حسن سو قائم

God keep thee king for ever

Live in peace Sher Shah son of Hasan Suri

On one occasion when Humayun's army in a contest with Sher Shah was completely routed and many of the soldiers and notable officers were drowned in

¹ *Farishta*, Vol. I, p. 427

NOTE.—The author of *Tarikh-i-Dakhtipate* puts the first hemistich as follows:

مکملی کیلی ایں

God the king (or God the Eternal king) may remain over him always

(MS. B.M. MSS. Or. 17th fol. 7th.)

the river while crossing same, Shēr Shāh composed a very opportune quatrain as follows :

خدا ایا دواما تو بگر توئی
تو اما ر درویش بزور توئی
دیل حسن را تو شاهی دعی
دعا آیوں آهی دھی

O God, Mighty and Rich art Thou,
Thou art the Mighty Supporter of the poor ;
Thou givest royalty to Farid, son of Hasan,
Thou givest the army of Humāyūn to the fish.

In his composition he followed the current Indian style which was on the lines of flowery Persian.

ر فارسی دروش مردم عدل و ردان گفتے^۱

And Persian verses he composed after the manner of the people of Hindūstān

He also composed verses in Hindi and was a patron of Hindi poetry. The chief Hindi and Persian poets of his court were respectively Malik Muhammad Jā'isī (the author of Padumāwat), and Shaikh 'Abdul Hai, son of Shaikh Jamālī Kambūh.

There is a Persian-Arabic verse of his as follows :

¹ Tarikha-i-Bagh-i Ma'āni (bound with Nafāis ul Ma'sir)
B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol 130a

² Tarikh-i-Du'udi, B.M. MSS., Or. 197, fol 77a

بِهَا لَمْ كرِهْ دُعْدُى مُلُوْغَلَامْ فَيْ
فَوْلَى عَلَى حُسْنَةِ طَرَّافَةِ الْأَنْجَى

With us what did Mullū do ? the slave the
cursed
The Prophet has said, There is no good in
slaves

He evinced good taste and fine poetic humour on many occasions. Once on being told that his beard had grown white, he replied that it was true since he wore the crown towards the evening of his life.

He died while storming the fort of Kālmār in 952 A.H. through the bursting of an enemy rocket. His death which caused a fire in the magazine. The date of his death was found in the most suggestive phrase اُنْشَرَدْ ; in the following chronogram composed by one of his court poets.

شَرَشَبْ أَنْكَى مَهَاتْ أَوْ
سَرْ ، مَنْ ، أَفْ ، مَنْ ،

¹ Rāshīdī, Vol. I, p. 385.

NOTE.—Shér Shah had composed this sonnet on the occasion when Mullū Khan, ruler of Mithān playing false, had one night suddenly disappeared from Shér Shah's camp, although the latter had shown him great favour and taken him into alliance.

Farīdatā attributes the second hemistich to Shaikh Abdal Hāfi who had composed it offhand to match with Shér Shah's first hemistich (Farīdatā, Vol. I, p. 425.) The same is also asserted by Nizāmuddīn Ahmad Tabaqatī Akbarī, p. 251.]

² Farīdatā, Vol. I, p. 429.

ار حہاں رفت گھس سیز مرد
”ال قاریخ او ، آش میں

Shēr Shāh is he through whose terror,
The lion and the goat drank water together ;
He went away from the world ; old Wisdom
uttered,
The year of his death, "from the fire he died "

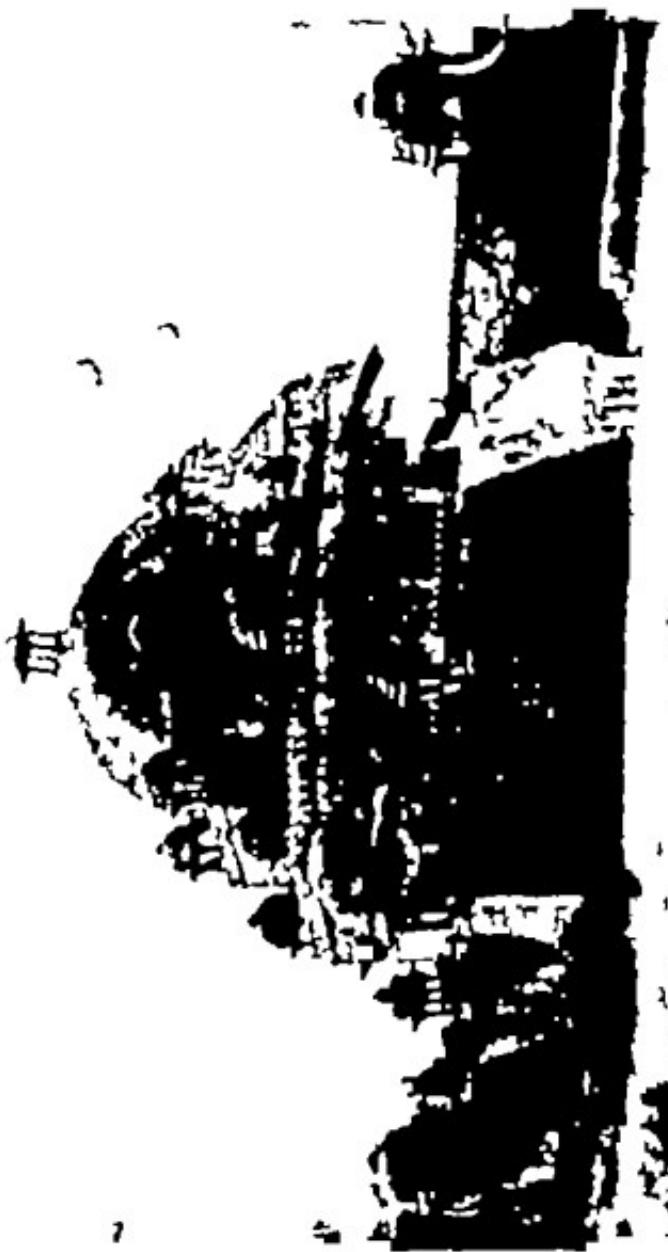
Historians are unanimously agreed that Shēr Shāh was a just, wise, and capable monarch, and his reign was distinguished for peace and tranquillity. Badāūnī congratulates himself on his birth having taken Shēr Shāh 'place in the reign of a just monarch like Shēr Shāh' in the following words which shower a most glowing tribute of praise that could ever be paid to any Muslim king :

وَسَلَّمَ اللَّهُ كَهْ دِر زَمَانِ اِيَّاهُنِينَ مَلِكِيْ كِهْ قَالَ اللَّهُ يِي
حَلِيَّةُ السَّلَامِ اَنَا وَلَدُتُ فِي زَمَانِ اَلِكَ الْعَادِلِ تَوْلِيْدِ صَاحِبِهِ
ایں مُؤْتَمِسْ دِر گھٹے لِمْ شَهْرِ رَبِيعِ الثَّانِي ۱۵۷۶ هـ
وَارْبَعِينَ وَتِسْعَمِائِيْهِ وَاقِعِ شَهِلِ -

And God be praised that in the regime of such a king as said by the Prophet (may peace be upon him), "I was born in the reign of a just monarch," the birth of the author

¹ This encomium of Badāūnī is significant since he had no word of praise for his own sovereign, Akbar, by whom he was patronised

* Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 363



Town or Snow Scene at Sankt
Dr. Schmidts Bexon.

of this *Musatkhâb* took place on the 17th of the month of *Rabi' us Sân* in the year 947 A.H.

Farishta holds the same view of Shér Shâh's just and peaceful administration and says that he performed many deeds of public good in building Cârvânsârâs for the Hindus and the Muslims alike on the main roads from Bengal to the Indus (a distance of 1500 kôs) and from Āgra to Mândû (a distance of 300 kôs) requisitioning them with plentiful supplies of food and provision and making these routes perfectly safe for journey.

و دن هر مک کروه سراے ساخته چاه و مساجد ای
دوونه باره گنجینه همچوں و مقبری و امامی مقرر
دوونه انها را دسته معین کرد و دن هر سراے یک ده رواج
طعم پخته و خام هر راه - انان و دنروانه دیگر کدلک
بیوای خانواران مقرر نموده - و دن همچوں اور دست
بهر تر که بدر دین دن هر ده راه و بیابان عربجا و دند
از کلاس خود الیخ نکرده بفراغت می خنودند گویند
اگر زالیه با مدی بر از طلا در سر اشها خواب کردی
حاتم پل ای اصلا نمودی اکثر اوقات خود را
صرف کلر خلاصی کردی و سر انتقام شهاد و تسامر دعایها
بو احی نمودی و نر طوفانه عدل و داد استقامت داشتی -

And at the end of every kôs he got built a Sarâj a mosque and a well, from home and

¹ Farishta, Vol I p 422

baked brick. He appointed a 'mu'azzin,' a reader of the Qur'ān, and an Imām, and fixed gratuities for each of them. And in every *Sāra'* he fixed one gate for cooked food and rations for the Muslims, and another similar gate for the Hindūs. And in his reign such was the public security that travellers in jungle and desert, wherever they reached, went to sleep without apprehension for their property. It is said that if an old woman with a tray full of gold slept at nights in a desert there was no need for a watch at all. Often he devoted himself to public service and duly attended to the affairs of his army and the welfare of his subjects, and persevered in the path of equity and justice.

He is a most important poet of the court of Shēr Shāh. He combined the Sanskrit and Persian scholarship with poetic attainments, and was regarded as a Sūfi. He was patronised by Shēr Shāh whom he eulogised in his memorable Hindi poem, the '*Padumāvatī*' which was a notable undertaking by a Muslim. It was

Malik Mu-
hammad Jānī
a poet of
epoch-making
significance

¹ A woman of remarkable beauty daughter of the Rājā of Ceylon seized by the Rājā of Chittaur, and afterwards fell in possession of Sultan 'Alā'uddin Khiljī. Her story is also written in Persian poetry by one Husain Ghaznavi. Another by Rāi Gobind Munshi. Also in Urdu verse by the joint efforts of Mīr Ziyā'uddin 'Ibrat, and Ghulām 'Ali 'Ishrat.



MIAN MUHAMMAD JAI ISLAMI THE RENOWNED
POET OF SHEER SHAH

[Kindly lent by Prof. A. Qari Fazl M.A. Lucknow University]

written in 947 A.H. in terse Hindi language occasionally mixed with Persian and easy Hindi words. The most curious thing was that he adopted Persian characters for his text, an event of epoch making significance in the history of both Hindi and Persian literatures in India.

' Malik Muhammad is we believe the oldest poet of Hindūstān of whom we have any uncontested remains. The preservation of Padumavati is due mainly to the happy accident of Malik Muhammad's religious reputation. Although profoundly affected by the teaching of Kabir and familiarly acquainted with Hindu lore and with the Hindu Yoga philosophy he was from the first revered as a saint by his Muhammadan co-religionists. He wrote his poem in what was evidently the actual vernacular of his time, tinged slightly with an admixture of a few Persian words and idioms due to his Mosalmān propensities. It is also due to his religion that he originally wrote it in the Persian character and hence discarded all the favourite devices of Pandits who tried to make their language correct by spelling vernacular words in the Sanskrit fashion. He spelled each word rigorously as it was pronounced. His work is hence a valuable witness to the actual condition of the vernacular language of the 16th century.'

He was a disciple of two prominent Sūfis, Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngir and Sayyid Muhi'uddin,¹ whose praises he sang in his poems calling them as his masters and steersmen. He also poured unqualified praise on Shēr Shāh for his just and peaceful reign, and for his literary patronage.. He is one of the three great Muslim poets of Hindī² who flourished in India in the 16th century A.D., and helped towards the formation and growth of modern Urdū the lingua franca of India.

- ¹ These two in their lifetimes had considerable influence over the people of Upper Hindūstān, and belonged to the Chishtiya Nizāmiya order
- ² The other two being Kabīr of the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lodi (already described under Bābur), and Rahim of the reign of Akbar (to be discussed hereafter)

CHAPTER VI

He met his tragic death at Delhi in 063 A H by an accidental fall from the terrace of his library where he often retired in the afternoons to amuse himself with books.

^{Humayun's}
^{death.} That evening also according to his wont, having examined his bookshelves he walked on to the terrace to enjoy fresh air. Just when he was descending the staircase the *mazarrin* gave a call to prayers on hearing which he went down on his knees in holy reverence. When the *azân* was over he rose supporting himself on a staff which unfortunately slipped upon the marble and he fell down headlong several steps. He received great injuries in his head and arm and was removed to his palace insensible. On the fifth day he expired.¹ Thus ended the life of one of the most

¹ Padavan and Abul Faiz have probably used the Turkî work *Ali 'l-Bîr wî Mu'mîlik* of Sidi Ali Reis who was then personally present at the court and describes the event with almost the same accuracy of detail as do Radâoni and Abul Faiz with the following notable differences:

(1) Sidi Ali Reis omits to say from what part or section of the castle Humayun fell while Radâoni and Abul Faiz make it quite clear by stating that the fall occurred from the building known as *hîzâb khâna* (library).

humane monarchs of the Mughal dynasty, a lover of science and literature, and a character nobler than any to be found in the long line of the Mughal kings.

The court poets wrote chronograms¹ each trying to excel the other in poetic grace and plainness. Of the numerous chronograms the best was of Maulānā Qāsim

Elegiac poems.

Kāhi quoted by Jauhar and reproduced on p 55 *supra* Elegiac poems were also written

- (ii) Sidi 'Ali Reis makes Humāyūn die on the fourth day of his fall Cf the statement

کوں دار ، جو کون ای تمام فنازی و تندہ پادھا۔..... دوہی:-
کون دار ، توں جو دم انتقال ایتھیلار -
[Mir'at ul Mamālik, p 65],

while Abul Fazl on the fifth day, and Badaūnī on the ninth Cf the statement

در تاریخ ۱۰ تیر و پنجم الاول پادھا در بالائے بام کتابخانہ در
آمد و در دین نزود آمدن پائے ایشان خ ناگزید ، از هند رینه
پاید ۱۲ ہڈہ بزمیں آمدند و در پانزدهم ماه مذکور ایں عالم بیوی را
پیروہ کریا -

[Badaūnī, Vol I, pp 465-466]

I suspect that پاڑھم is a misprint for بارہم If so, the versions of Badaūnī and Abul Fazl tally with Jauhar who, though gives no details, yet declares that the fall took place on the 7th and the death on the 11th

¹ Cf Maulānā Hisārī's chronogram

و اول حق هد حمایون پادھا
(Humāyūn Padishah united with God) Also Cf. Mir
'Abdul Hai's اے دلے پادھا من از بام اوہا
O alas! my king fell down from the terrace (Akbar Nama, Vol. I, p 868)



HUMAIDH'S REMAINS BEING CARRIED TO THE BURIAL GROUND
THE YOUNG PRINCE AKBAR ACCOMPANYING THE CORTEGE.
(Depicted at Lucknow.)

of which the most touching was from the pen of
Khawaja Husain Nervi as follows

اے ہل صدیعے مرگ ترا عمِ اردنی سے
صمم ادلِ حکم عدت مبدلی سے
دون کل بس دارالموت حکم لے
مبدل اینکے شرم مرگت - دنی سے
اس نامِ رندگی کے نہادند مر ترا
نام ترا بطریق ممات کے دنی سے
عمرہ مسو نایں گل بستانِ رندگی سے
نا خزان درجن گلو بستان و رندگی سے
از گوس خوبیست سنوی کل نلائی ناں دند
در گوس دیگران خمرت عمِ رسیدگی سے

O heart, thou too hast to hear the call of
death

The morn of death is to appear on the hori-
zon of thy life

Since it was ordained every soul must taste
of death

Know for certain that thou hast to taste the
drink of death

This name of life that they gave to thee
Is only to draw thy name towards death
Do not pride thyself on this rose of the
garden of life

The wind of autumn has to blow in this rose
and the garden,
Thou hearest with thine own ears that a
certain one passed away,
In the ears of others thy news also has to go

Humāyūn, unlike his father, was a monarch more of literary tendencies than of administrative His wit and bent¹ and possessed a keen sense humour of humour hardly surpassed by any

¹ He was so fond of study that he took his books with him everywhere in his travels. Even in his flight under adverse circumstances he did not suffer to leave behind his library of which he took great care during all his journeys to and from Persia, across the deserts and in the thick of battles against his foes Cf his inquisitiveness about the same after his party was attacked by Kāmrān

خوب کامران میرزا ہے جو اسے حرب ہید ہوا ۔ کہ پادھا
اے دیباوگی ہے کوہ و درون گاہ طالقان درآمد سترت خر
ار کتابخانہ پر یہ عرض کرند کہ سے ۔ ۔ ۔

Since Kāmrān Mirzā saw a large crowd with banners he thought it was his Majesty and attacked at once, and entered the fort of Tāliqān. His Majesty enquired about the library. They replied that it was quite safe (Tazkīrat ul Wāqi'ah, B M MSS, Add 16 711, fol 99a) Also cf., his delight at receiving books presented to him by a Persian noble at Zankun near Tabriz

د ۔ یہ قلی میرزا درادر اسے ایک اور مہد ندیدن والدہ
د براذران آمدہ ہوہ کہ رہنمہ مکہ مسیحہ حامل نماید سدگان
سترت را ملکہ کرہ کتاب و دے کہ دا وہ پڑھوں ہوہ ار
کتابها از پڑھوں آمدہ گرفت دو تھہ دا ناو ۔ ۔ ۔

other monarch of his line. In his display and appreciation of wit he may be compared to his ancestor Timur, in his love for science to Ulugh Beg and in his poetic insight to Jahangir. A few instances of same are quoted below:

و ترخه خان را در گردش کردند حون
ل که نزدیک در بار بود رسید حکم کردند که حون
مرد ریس - د اس و عذر رهم گلت ایم را ز گردش
او بودند بعد ازان - ن لی - ایان مهردار
این سب را خواند

حراغی را که این بر ترور

هر آنکو سف زند ریس بسرزد

و ترخه خان حون ریس دراز داشت این بس؛ همیل و اع
سد حضرت اربن - ایش کمال خو ^۱ الی نمودند -

And they brought Qarjā khān with sword
hung round his neck. When he reached the
torch which was near the Audience Hall

And Husain Quli Mirza, brother of Ahmad Sultan, who
had come from Mashad to see his mother and brothers to
obtain leave for Mecca, interviewed his Majesty and
presented some books which he possessed. Out of these
books his Majesty took some which pleased him and
gave back the rest.

(Tabrikh-i-Humayun, J.O. MSS., 223, fol. 3b.)
Also of his death by a fall from the terrace of his
library to which he repaired in the afternoons for his
mental recreation.

¹ Ibid., fol. 36b and 37a.

Humāyūn ordered that as Qarjā Khān was grey-haired and we had also perjured his blood, the sword should be removed from his neck After this Husain Qulī Sultān, the seal-bearer, recited this verse .

The lamp which is lit by God,
Whoever puffs at it his beard burns

And since Qarjā Khān had a long beard this verse came opportune His Majesty enjoyed this wit in the extreme

Another instance of his ready wit is to be found in the following

نَبِيْحَمْ ۝ يَدِیْگَ سَهْوَهْ جَوَدَهْ اَرَدَهْ ۝ کَهْ عَسَارَ کَمَادِی
۝ سَرَتْ بَادَهْ اَهْ دَهْ دَهْ دَهْ سَهْوَهْ مَلَکُورْ ۝ دَوَانَ شَدَهْ
۝ دَهْ سَرَتْ سَرَیْنَ « وَارَ اَهَادَهْ بَهْ » ۝ مَلَکَ کَهْ کَدَامَ « وَارَ
۝ اِنْکَاهَ مَیْ آیَدَ مَرَدَمَ ۝ قَیَاسَ عَرَصَ کَرَدَهْ کَهْ سَهْوَهْ جَوَدَهْ اَرَدَهْ
۝ مَا شَدَهْ سَرَتْ بَادَهْ اَهْ اَوَلَهْ دَهْ اَهَارتَ دَیَادَگَرَوَهْ ۝ وَرَمَوَهْ دَهْ
۝ کَهْ اَشَاءَ الَّهَ سَهْوَهْ حَوَاعِدَهْ بَوَهْ -

Shaikh 'Ali Bēg asked Bihbūd Chūbdār to go and congratulate his Majesty. The aforesaid Bihbūd started off The eye of his Majesty fell on this rider and he asked, " Who is this rider that cometh "? People by mere guess replied that he might be 'Bihbūd' Chūbdār. His Majesty took this to be a good omen and said, "God be pleased, it would be 'bihbūd'" (i.e., it would turn out good)

¹ Tazkirat ul Waqī'at B M MSS , Add 16,711, fol 48b

On one occasion Humayun composed a *qita*¹ in which he very beautifully played on the word چتار (chitaur) and sent it on to Sultan Bahadur Gujarati

کے کے عالم شہر چتور
کافر ان را چتور گزیری
پادشاھی رسد پر سر تو
تو اے چتور گزیری

O thou who art the enemy of the city of
Chitaur

How (chitaur) wilt thou capture the un
believers ?

A king has reached over thy head
Sitting art thou taking Chitaur ?

¹ Farahat, Vol I, p. 399

Cf. Bihadar Shah's reply

میں کسی دشمن کو چتول را نہیں گزیری
چتول کو گزیری کیلئے چتول کو گزیری

I, who am the enemy of Chitaur
Will capture the infidels by force
Who is at rest in defence of Chitaur
Thou may'st see how I capture him also

It may be observed that Bihadar's reply is only
a repetition of Humayun's wit, and carries no originality
or improvement upon the latter

He was a monarch of great humanity and possessed of very noble traits of character¹. He was disposed to spend his time more in literary and peaceful concerns than aggression and military tactics on the battlefield.

His gentlest behaviour towards his brothers² through whose undisguised hostility he suffered

¹ Cf Shāh Tahmāsp's remark about Humāyūn's character on his interceding for the pardon and release of two of his enemies who had poisoned the Shāh's mind against him, and were eventually convicted for the offence

اُون رقعت دے یا و حوانند حضرت شاه عالم پناہ در نہیں شدند
و فرمودند کہ مدد ٹھیکیوں پادشاہ چھ لام دارہ ایں مردم در ہے
آزاد دے بونے درینوڑ شفاء۔ ایشان۔ یہ کہند۔

When the letter reached and the Shāh read it, he became astonished and said, "What clement disposition does Muhammed Humāyūn Pādīshāh possess! These people were seeking his injury, but he intercedes for them [Jauhar, B M MSS, Add. 16,711 fol 79a]

Also cf his reply to the counsel of one of his officers to take possession of Rāja Māldeo's territory where Humāyūn's party was then taking shelter and had procured plentiful supply of grain and water

اگر طرف پادھاہی روے دے دیں بدهند من اپنچنیں کار ڈیم ،
کران نئی کنم

If they were to give me the kingship of the whole world, I will not commit so foul a deed or be guilty of such ingratitude [Ibid.]

Cf his reply to the counsel of his Generalissimo importuning him to kill Kāmrān who was in intrigue with Shēr Shāh, and seeking to dispossess Humāyūn of his kingdom

exile and reverses in his fights with Shér Shāh is a glorious chapter in history and a splendid trait in his character. One sublime example of his tender grateful and generous nature is to be found in the munificent reward that he gave to a poor water-carrier who had helped him with a sheep-skin when his horse had slipped from underneath him in crossing the Ganges at Chausa.' It is a romantic and almost

مراه اس دنیا سے تکبیل کار چو اور خود را جس طبقہ میں تھا ،
ایسی عین کڑ لفڑی پر نہیں آپ

For this perishable world I will not render my brother from life to lifeless, and such unworthy act will not emanate from me [Ibid., fol. 24b]

Of the protests of his brothers against this measure and the like inadvertency due to the grave risks involved in compelling his nobles to bow publicly to a mortal at a time when danger from Shér Shāh was threatening.

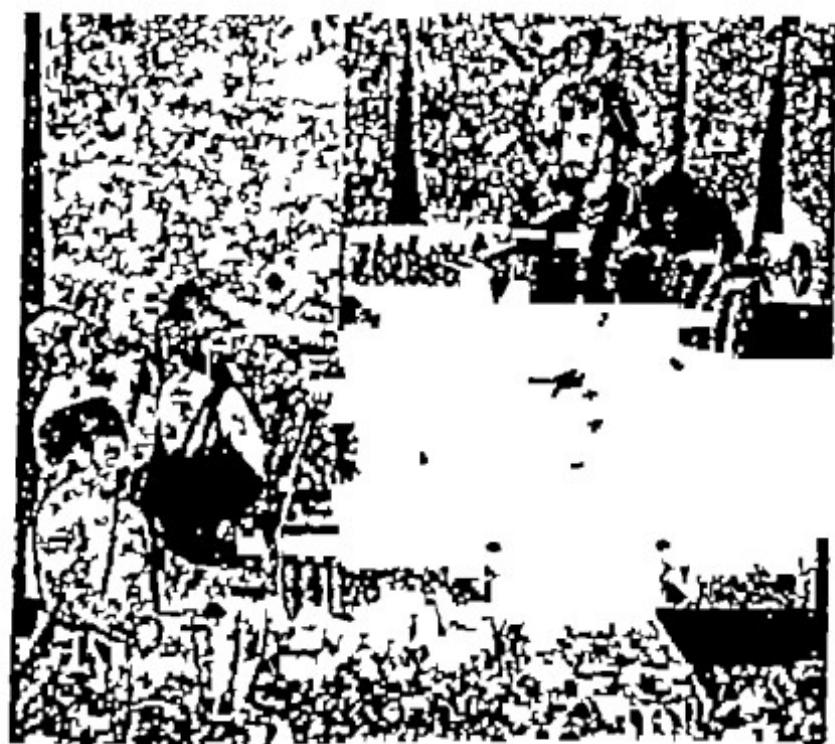
فرض آن قلم نہیں ، ایسے سلطنت کا حکم فرمادیا
کسرابی کو نکل باتیں نہیں کرتے ، قلم یہ کس طریقہ براہ
مدد ، سبب بندگی میں مارے گئے قلم پاسندی دادی میرزا
خداکار آئی سلطنت کے بروہنہ میرزا کسرابی نہیں نہایت ... و
... کشہ لوسنگی کے قلم را بٹھھئ و رملہ بھائے دیگر مائے
کردیں اور قوم بود کہ یہ سلطنت لٹکنے کی دعویٰ میں نزدیک
رسیدیا ایں ہے کہ اسے کسی کو سمجھا نہیں

To be brief his Majesty made the slave water-carrier sit on the throne and gave order that all the Emperors should make obeisance to that slave water-carrier and the slave might bestow on any one whatever he liked and confer manhood. Till two days his Majesty gave royalty to that

unheard-of instance in modern history that a monarch ever rewarded the services of any of his truest, bravest, or loyalist officers, much less a menial of the rank of a water-carrier, with seating him on the royal throne

menial Mirzā Hindal was not present in that assembly, and Mirzā Kamrān too did not attend, and sent word to his Majesty saying, "To the slave gifts and other kinds of concessions should be granted. What need is there that he should sit on the throne at a time when Shēr Khān has approached near? What is this work that your Majesty is doing?"

(Gulbadan Begam, Humāyūn Nāma, p. 14)



THE FAMOUS WATER-CAVERIE KING WHO HAD HIJED
HUMĀYŪN WITH A SHEEP-SKIN WHEN CROSSING THE
RIVER AT CHAUSA APPEARING BEFORE HIS REWARD
BEFORE THE EMPEROR WHO IS SEEN ISSUING
ORDERS TO HIS SECRETARY

[Scanned through Mr S M Aslam Ansari B.A., Law
student, Aligarh]

CHAPTER VII

A great tribute of praise is paid by some Persian and English historians to Shah Tahmāsp for his
Reception of
Humayūn by
Shah Tahmāsp very noble and generous reception
of Humayūn Sir John Malcolm the
great historian and authority on
Persian affairs writes thus

The reign of Shah Tahmāsp owes much of its celebrity to the truly royal and hospitable reception he gave to the Emperor Hoomayoun when that monarch was forced to fly from India and take shelter in his dominions. The Persians have in all ages boasted of their hospitality and the vanity of every individual is concerned in supporting the pretensions of his country to a superiority over others in the exercise of this national virtue and we know no example of a dispossessed monarch being so royally welcomed so generously treated and so effectually relieved. All means of the kingdom were called forth to do honour to the royal guest and they were as liberally furnished to replace him upon his throne. Tahmāsp merited the

praise which his conduct upon this occasion obtained him from distant nations."

This is an exaggerated, and to an extent erroneous account of the reception and the help given to Humāyūn. It is neither supported by reference to any historical source, nor its validity sufficiently tested. Persian writers also, especially of later date, express such views which similarly are based on no historical data. Some observations from "the artless and transparently truthful narrative of Humāyūn's personal attendant Jauhar," are reproduced below.

¹ Sir John Malcolm, History of Persia, Vol I, 50^b

NOTE.—The help eventually given by the Shāh consisted of several thousand foot and cavalry which dispersed soon after the conquest of Qandhār, with all its treasures surrendered to them. Huwāyūn then recruited fresh soldiers with whose help he was able to conquer Cābul, and there studiously buried himself from four to five years in making special preparations for his attack on India. He sent rich presents to all the great chiefs of Qandhār, Samārqand, Bukhārā, and other towns, inviting them to join him in his expedition, giving them great hopes for the future. It was to this newly raised army led under his command after five years of his return from Persia that he virtually owes his throne of India. Cf. his 'masnawī' quoted on p. 18 supra. Also, Cf. Jauhar, fol 127a

نمرت پادشاه ندیں ملما سیر میکرند و آنل ۱۰۰۰ و ۲۰۰۰
دنار ۱۰۰ روند و بخدا و ۱۰۰۰ اصلاح کرند و بخشی دا
سونات فرستاده و بو ته که اینجا نسبت دفعہ و توجہ شدن ۱۰۰۰
و جوستا داره اشاع الله تعالیٰ اگو شریف آوند ۵۰۰ مانع نی ۵۰۰
پیاپند تا پیکیار شکار ۱۰۰ و سستان بدکیم تا ۱۰۰ چه آرد

* على الصباح حضرت شاه عالم^۱ کوچ کرده در مقلع
 - املاک فوج آمدند. حضرت پادشاه
 سلام رفته بودند که خدوان التلعت
 و ملاب خود تدبیح اراد کرد. خاطر
 ۲۰۵ - دله و خود را الزام کردن گرفت^۲

که کام کی نمی آمدیم و از مرای مهانی حضرت پادشاه
 هنوز حم کرده بودند که خود رت شاه گفتند فرستادند
 که اگر در دس ما در آیند در تر - می باشم و لا
 به قسم اهل دین شمارا درین هنوز آنس داده خواهم
 ۲۰۶ - خود رت پادشاه گفتند فرستادند که ما بدین
 خود قایم مقلع = ۲۰۷ هم آمدیم و مارا خدوان آرزوی پاساعی
 هم دوچرخه - به اراده خدا که هر دل است دل
 خود را بآورید ایم -

Early in the morning the Shah (Tahmâsp) having marched arrived and halted at Sultaniyâ. His Majesty (Humâyûn) had gone to greet him but seeing no attention paid to himself was grieved at heart, and began to accuse himself saying Would that I had not come! And for the entertainment of his Majesty they had collected some firewood. The Shah sent a verbal message saying If you enter into our religion we will extend our support, otherwise with all your co-religionists we shall burn you alive in this pile of

^۱ Ibid fol 71b

P 19

Jacob's
eventful
narrative
most treat-
worthy reward
in existence

wood." His Majesty returned the message, "we are firm in our religion, we came, and we do not entertain much desire even for kingship. And whatever there is, it is with the will of God the Great, and the High We have bound our heart to Him"

Humāyūn approached by Shāh Tahmāsp to accept the Shi'a faith.

Shortly afterwards Humāyūn was approached through a special messenger of the Shāh to accept the Shi'a faith under a similar threat.

قاضی حهان وکیل هر رت -
نادشاه آمد عرض کرد که شاه تقدیر از
قریب هر دو صد کار کشته خواهد شد

Qāzī Jahān, the Vakil of the Shāh, came to his Majesty and said, "You are not alone On your account about seven hundred people will be put to death."

Apart from this, Shāh Tahmāsp was all the time actually thinking to take Humāyūn's life which

Humāyūn's life saved through the noble intervention of Shāh Tahmāsp's daughter. The Shāh revealed his secret to his son Bahrām Mirzā, who out of compassion divulged it to his sister through whose tender pleadings the situation was changed, and to whose truly noble spirit Humāyūn owes his life and all his subsequent career :

¹ Ibid fol 72a

الفرض يك دوز خبرت ساه عالم پناه با بهرام ميرزا
در - هم علايی دستلى بوندد حضرت بادشاهه فرموندد
ازين - هم ميرزا غلبه کاهه ۲ دو وقت كرده ده
خود اين ماحرا ظاعر ساخت که صابيون بادشاهه از نسل
تمور پادشاه بناه خود به ادوادي تمام آمد و حنده
مدت گذسه که ما او عمنك شده ايم درين ولايه
عالم پناه حکم باطل مذكر دند خون اين ۳ هم
د تکریع در آمد که حصدت شه در خانه آن ۴
رسد بهرام ميرزا سلام بود و مدركه و حضرت ساه نژول
فرمودند و پرسيدند - ر گريستن - ب عرض كرده که
بود خون ميگريم باز فرموندد که سلامتی ما بخواهد
گفت «ميشه تو دعای حضرت ساه عالم پنه شفولم فاما
سا هر چهار طرف ۱ نداريد و نمده» و د که
« د صابيون بادشاهه بسرو نرا وان دارد بلدا رسانيس
اوحة ۲ مي آيد اگر بر احوال او رحم ۳ کند و
سرپواز نظرها يلد و امداد او بحاله نماورند و ۴ کند
قادره رها که داند بروه ساه عالم پناه اين کلام دهد
در ساهم تسلی سد و گفت تمام امر ايان ۵ هم و هر دی
خود عرض مذكر دند فاما بهتر اين ۶ که تو
مسگوتی -

To be brief one day the Shâh talked with
Bahrâm Mirzâ of the killing of Humâyûn.

From this speech the Mirzā being overcome with grief wept, and divulged this affair to his sister saying, "Humāyūn Pādishāh from the progeny of Timūr Pādishāh has come on foot with all hopes, and some period has elapsed since we have eaten the salt together. At this time the Shāh ordered a wrong thing." When this chaste lady heard this speech she burst into tears In the meantime the Shāh entered her house Bahrām Mirzā saluted him and went out And the Shāh halted and asked what was the reason for her crying. She said, "I weep on my day." The Shāh again said, "Wish our welfare." She said, "I am always busy in my prayer for your Majesty, but you have on all the four sides enemies And it is heard that Muhammad Humāyūn Pādishāh has a son and brothers What good should come to hand by torturing him? If you do not take pity on his affairs and exalt and help him, you should bid him farewell, so that whatever place he knows of he may go to" The Shāh listened to this speech and got pacified in that moment, and said, "All the 'Umarā expressed their unwise policies, but there is nothing better than what thou sayest."

CHAPTER VIII

During Humāyūn's reign poets and scholars from all parts of Persia, Turkistān, Bukhārā, and

*Exodus of
poets and
scholars from
Persia to
India.*

Samarqand continued to emigrate to India in larger numbers than before. Besides those already mentioned there were many like Maulānā Abdul Bāqī Sadr Turkistāni Mir Abdul Hāfi Bukhārī Khwāja Hījmā Jāmī Maulānā Bāzī Mulla Muhammad Sālih and Mulla Jān Muhammad who accompanied Humāyūn on his second entry into Hindūstān. The two popular poets Jāhi Yatmīyān of Bukhārā and Hairati of Māwarūn Nahr had entered Humāyūn's service at Cābul and received his favours. Similarly Khwāja Ayyūb from Māwarūn Nahr Maulānā Nādirī from Samarqand and Maulānā Junūbī from Badakhshān all journeyed from their homes to Āgra and received mansabs.

A large majority of scholars like Mir Abdul Latif Qazwīnī Maulānā Abul Qasim

¹ Bā Yāzid, Tarikh-i-Humāyūn, IO MSS 223 fol. 72b-76a.

Astrābādī, Shaikh Abul Wājīd Fārīghi Shirāzī, and Shauqī Tabrizī, came actually from the Persian towns and the Safawi court itself which, *de facto*, did not rise to the height of the munificence of the Indian courts in their patronage of Persian prose and poetry.' The last-named, Shauqī Tabrizī, who was

Part played by the Mughal as compared with the Safawi in the uplift of Persian prose and poetry

Poets under the Safawi, were on an average, paid from 20 to 30 'tūmāns' for their 'qasāid' and eulogies of the court. There is one instance discovered of a panegyrist of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great—Shāhī Taklū—who was once weighed in gold for his beautiful poetry, and on his retirement from the Shāh's service got a stipend of 20 'tūmāns' a month (a sum equal to sixty rupees). Against this solitary instance of Persian munificence, a good many brighter ones of Indian courts may be quoted Cf—

- (i) Zuhūrī receiving several elephants loaded with gold and silver and other rich presents for his Sāqī Nāma in praise of Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar [Sar-Kush, Kalimat ush Shu'arā—account of Zuhūrī]
- (ii) 'Urfī receiving from the Khān i Khānān 100,000 rupees in reward for a 'qasida' [Ibid., Account of Khān i Khānān.]
- (iii) Hayātī Kāshī was weighed in gold by Jahāngīr for his verses on the style of Khānrau's Tughlaq Nāma So also, Sa'īdā i Gilānī [Tuzuk i Jahāngīr p 240]
- (iv) Abū Talib Kalīm, Sa'īdā i Gilānī, and Bāfiyā, all weighed in gold by Shah Jahān
- (v) Maulvi 'Abdul Hakīm Siālkōti weighed twice in gold
- (vi) Ābdul Hamid Lāhorī, author of Shāh Jahān Nāma, was similarly weighed in gold, in addition to receiving a large sum in cash, on completion of his history

an organ of the poetical assemblies arranged by Sam Mirza at the Safawi court, had left the Prince's service only to enter Humayun's.¹ Similarly Shaikh Abul Wajid Flrigi who came from Shiraz was a pauper and had not with him even a pair of spare clothes to put on except the one ragged old garment which he had on his body. A good many poets and scholars came after Shah Tahmasp in the reign of Shah Abbas the Great. The one notable example is that of Nasir Rukn-i-Kashf who is reckoned among the best poets of Persia in his day and was the chief poet of the court of Shah Abbas. The Shah not only failed to extend the patronage he deserved but on one occasion even thought the favour he was showing him was too much for a poet, in consequence of which he left the court and came away to India in the reign of Akbar. This is the age when the liberalities of the Deccan and the

(vii) Qodsi, a most notable instance in the history of Moghal patronage received in reward for a qasida from a rich noble of Shah Jahan's court, all his estate in landed and movable property with heaps of gold and silver and his mouth was filled seven times with precious jewels by Shah Jahan himself.

(viii) Naziri receiving from Akbar (Akbarnama) 100 000 rupees cash and 30 000 gold mohurs from Jahangir.

¹ Oriental Biographical Dictionary p. 832. Cf. the statement "He left the service of Sam Mirza and went with the Emperor Humayun."

Badauni Vol I p. 476. Cf. the statement:

مَلِكُ الْأَيَّالِ كَوَافِرِ الْجَنَاحِ الْمُلْكُ لِلْمُلْكِ الْمُلْكِ

Lutf Ali Beg Astar Asnahkada, p. 839

Mughal kings in jealous rivalry with each other were attracting, more than they did ever before, the Persian poets and scholars from the remote corners of Persia, and the Western and Central Asia. Not only the Mughal kings but their 'Umarā too, extended an equal patronage to these literate emigrants, who in their turn sang praises of their benefactors in their beautiful poems which resounded in Persia and served as an impetus to others who yet lagged behind. This is one of the main reasons why the literary activities at the Indian courts in the field of Persian literature outweigh those of the Persians in Persia. The elegant poetry written in this and the later periods, and the useful literature produced in the shape of histories, translations from Sanskrit and Hindi works, biographies of poets, and dictionaries of Persian language and idiom, stand a contrast and a marvel to Persia.

Various explanations are offered by Persian writers for the non-appearance of any great poets in Persia under the Safawi rule. As a matter of fact both the 16th and the 17th centuries were notably poor in the number and the quality of poets produced in Persia. The chief reason for this lull, as pointed out by Iskandar Munshi—the celebrated historian of

Shāh 'Abbās, the Great, was the change in the mentality of the Shāh and of the people from the panegyric to the religious poetry or Muharram mournings which constitute strophes in praise of the

Causes of the
dearth of not-
able poets in
Persia under
the Safawis
put forward
by Persian
historians.

Martyrs Imām Ḥasan and Imām Husain'. The same view is endorsed by subsequent Persian and English chroniclers.¹ It is also declared that the panegyrist were not tolerated by the Persian kings and consequently no poets of note appeared at their court and even if they did they were discouraged and no reward was held out to them for their eulogies. The Safawis we are told maintained that the person of the Imāms and not that of the kings was worthy of the encomiums of the poets.

While all this may be admitted as a distraction it cannot at the same time be any real reason for the following considerations. First, that the panegyrist did exist under each of the Safawi kings, and received rewards for their encomiums on the person of the Shah and second that the *marsiyyas* (or the Muharram mournings) did not and could not in the least stop other kinds of poetry. The production of the former as compared with the latter is only a drop in the ocean. The poet Qāsimī for instance, was a panegyrist of Shah Ismā'il and was rewarded no less for his *Qasida*² than for his other poems, of which however none was in praise of

Weaknesses
of
their
contention.

the latter is best known by his revered title of "Sayyid ush Shuhadā" whose martyrdom at Kerbala is a memorable event in the history of Islam and is the subject of universal mourning.

¹ Cf. Browne Persian Literature in Modern Times, pp. 172-3.

the Imāms.¹ The highest reward which he got was for his poem entitled 'Shāh Nāma i Shāh Ismā'īl' written in imitation of Firdausī's *Shāh Nāma* in extravagant praise of the Shāh. After Shāh Ismā'īl's death, he stayed for some time at the court of Shāh Tahmāsp, and possibly by the latter's desire wrote a similar poem entitled 'Shāh Nāma i Shāh Tahmāsp' in his praise. In the latter part of his life he repaired to India, being attracted by the liberalities of the Mughal court, and was graciously received by Akbar.

Among the court poets of Shāh Tahmāsp, besides Qāsimī (who came over to India), there were many, of whom Shauqī Tabrizī (who followed suit), Zamīrī, 'Abdī, and Muhtasham Kāshī, were conspicuous. Muhtasham poured unqualified praise on the Shāh, which not only was admitted but justly rewarded by the latter. The Persian biographer, Lutf 'Ali Bēg Azar, describes him as a panegyrist of the Shāh, and a prominent figure among the poets of the Safawī court.

مَدْحُواً وَ مَلِكَةً لَهُ دُورَگَارِ آنِ دَوْلَتِ اَنْجَامِ اَنْجَامِ
بَلْ طَرَقِ اَنْجَامِ اَنْجَامِ

¹ Cf. his poems

- (i) *Shāh Nāma i Shāh Ismā'īl*
- (ii) *Kār Nāma*, a poem on the game of Chaugān, written at the request of the Shāh himself
- (iii) *Laila wa Majnūn*, dedicated to the Shāh
- (iv) *Khusrau wa Shirīn*, dedicated to Sām Mirzā
[Tuhfa-i-Qāmi, U. L. C., Or. 648, fol. 28a.]

* Atooshkada, p. 281

He is the head of the eloquent poets of that period and a panegyrist of Shâh Tahmâsp Safawî.

Some specimens showing the nature of praises showered by him from time to time on the person of the Shâh are reproduced below:

۱۔ گنتی ستان طہرا ب آن کو رسم رزم او
تن بدل دعائیں کا عدد دل سر زیان لرده
اگر نظر حس آید ہے اند استان ہر س
(حس ایروے دریان آن ہر استان لرہ)

The king-conqueror of the world—Tahmâsp
is such that from the fear of his battle
The body of the fierce elephant diminishes,
and the heart of the ferocious lion
shivers

If the emperor of China comes with the
intent to bow at his threshold
From the scowl of the porter of that
threshold he trembles.

۲۔ بدن د رگا حل باشد
دست د خداوندان باشد

Ibid.

* Ibid

NOTE.—This is in poor imitation of Anwari's famous qasida
in praise of Sultan Banjar bewailing

کرد و می پھر و کن باشد = دل و می خداوندان باشد
می خواهد که کناری عیش = می خواهد کناری عیش

شاه طهماسب، آنکه در سپاه س.
 همچو هزار خان مائده
 آنکه از صد هزار خان او
 در چهارس کاروان مائده
 و آنکه از هیجده هیجده او
 گرگ نامی مگ همان مائده
 چون همان قوس و سیانی
 در هزار ادم و حان مائده
 هم درینگ بو یک رمان درینگ
 هر چهل هزار خان مائده
 من چنان سمع معنی اخزو درم
 اموری مستدر آن مائده

Till body be the monopoly of the hand of
 the soul,
 That hand be the hand of the king ;
 Shāh Tahmāsp is such that in his army,
 Like Sanjar there are thousand *Khāns*,
 He is such that from the dread of his
 justice,

The thief is the herald of a *Kāravān*,
 And he is such that through the fear of his
 chastisement,
 The lawless wolf is the dog of a shepherd ;
 When thou givest motion to the rein of thy
 steed,

Paralysis overtakes the body of man and
 genii.

Thy delay for a moment in battle
 Is a respite to a hundred thousand lives
 I am such a candle enlightener of meaning
 That Anwari seeks light therefrom

Side by side with this he also wrote his famous *Hast band* in praise of the Imāms. Zamiri is another who began his career as a poet in Shāh Tahmīsp's reign and produced volumes of secular poetry in which respect no other poet in the whole of Persia could compete with him¹. Abdi is yet another who carried the palm in his lavishness of praise on Shāh Tahmīsp. Besides the usual *qasida* he wrote a long panegyric on the Shāh entitled *Būstān-i Khayal* (the garden of imagination) also called *Hastkhīzāna*. A specimen from same will easily reveal the tendency of the Shāh's taste as also that of the poets at his court.

سَرْ دَحْ سَادَانِ السَّلَاطِنِ مُهَانَ الظَّوَالِنِ سَادَ
 طَرِيْمَاسِبَ الْمَهْدِيِّ الْمُوسَوِيِّ الْمَعْدِيِّ مَادَ اللَّهُ مَلَكَهُ
 ابْدَا -

سَرْ دَحْ سَادَانِ دَارَا سَرْبَزْ
 كَهْ هَمْ تَاهْ دَهْسَ اسْتَرْ هَمْ مَلَكْ كَهْ

¹ Attributed p. 243. Cf. the statement:

شیخیں - امشن کمال الدین حنفی میر زین الدین شاہ² اور
 جبلی شاعری نامدار و میر زملی مولیٰ محدث و محدث عالمی دادا³ و گورکانی میر
 اصلہنی مکھ میر و تپتے دیکھو پکرست میر او عالمی نواسنا -

¹ Or 2504 B.M. MSS

² Ibid. fol. 8a.

ملکه دارم . هر لام - یلدز شکرها
 که لیزد چو دریا ازو بدی . کوه
 هزار آنده ۱۰۰ ده رودی
 هزار آنده را قیس ۲۰۰ دی
 راه راز گردن کش تاج بنهش
 که انحصار باهی و موز عیله دوس
 لمه نارگاه کواکب . پیله
 تهمه دیوند از هایه ای نیمه

In praise of the Sultān of Sultāns, Khāqān of Khāqāns, Shāh Tahmāsp as Safawī, al Mūsawī, al Husainī, may God perpetuate his kingdom :—

The emperor of Jamshid's dignity of
Darius's throne,
Who bestows crown as well as takes
away kingdom;
Of the Prophet Muhammad's lineage (may
peace of God be upon him), of 'Ali's
grandeur,
That the back of mountain shivers like
sea for fear of him;
The decorator of the crown of chief ship,
The uplifter of the banner of 'Ali;
Of exalted head, of proud neck, and bes-
towr of crown,
That the stars are his soldiery, and the
sun is his steed;
Of the court of the sky, of the army of
stars,

The keeper of religion the emperor

Shah Tahmasp

In the following the poet refers to a mansab which he got from the Shah in appreciation of secular poems consisting of qasida and masnavi and ghazal all of which proceeded from his pen as a sequel to the Shah's patronage. In the third verse, in which he observes that his poetry was up till then in abeyance he emphatically denies that it was due to any sense of shame for writing poetry

مکریان اهلی حرمستان
 مناس سرین نہیں یاں
 ازان ماصب آورده نانے بد
 مسلم هریگان ندادم ۲۰ ت
 دلے درنهای دود شعرم سعاد
 نسودی ازان ۱۳۱۱۲ و مل
 تصاید ر کلمک برآورده سر
 حواز ۱۴۱۱۲ ا خرمائے تو
 دوستم کار بداعی نگار
 غزلهای ریندا آبدار
 لنسع نسونم از اطوار نظم
 حافظه ایست خوسته سازار نظم

When I hurried to the sublime court
 I got a most suitable 'mansab'

'Qasā'id' made their head from my pen,
Like fresh dates from a dry palm-tree ;
I wrote from my quaint-writing pen,
Well-tempered glittering *ghazals* ,
From the styles of poetry I followed,
What style was more fascinating in the
market of poetry

Still more reassuring are the lines addressed to Shāh Tahmāsp, in which the author emphatically declares, as his own reason for the praise of the Shāh, that the panegyric poetry in Persia was still, as it had ever been before, the order of the day :

ز آنکه در میان شهرهای داشتند سور
 ها و اگر شمل همچو قدر ملتهه هم دور
 هر آنکه نمودش نمایند مدار
 نمودش چنان هم دلهر استوار
 و گر از سخن پروردان کهنه
 سخنی ناچشم اند اند آمد سخن

¹ Ibid., fol. 9b

صد کرده از نامور نامه ها
 سده سهان گرم عنکبوتیه ها
 مراهم خوش آید که دیوان من
 که آمد گرامی تر از حان من
 د نام سه هر چون تو گمراه حمال
 کلامم ز دل بیشتره کمال
 اگر دی از نام بونکو سعد
 خط ساعد نظم را کرد بعد
 کدیں عمدی از نام طهبا بساد
 - من را زند بز تلك بارگاه-

Every one who had lustre from the praise
 of a king
 Became the possessor of world like the
 blessed sun
 Any one whose poetry was not based on
 praise
 His worth was not much recognised in the
 world
 Again from the poets of yore
 The best chapter which proceeded was that
 of praise
 All commenced their records from the name
 of the renowned
 From the praise of kings they warmed their
 assemblies
 To me also it becomes agreeable that my
 poetic collection,

Which is held more precious than my life ;
 May take embellishment from the name of a
 king like thee,
 My poetry from thy praise attain perfection ;
 If Sa'dī from the name of Bū Bakr Sa'd,
 Plaited the hair of poetry, the bride ;
 Now 'Abdī from the name of Shāh Tahmāsp,
 Pitches the royal tent of speech above
 the sky.

These outpourings are followed by a fulsome and long drawn out panegyric which would defy any poet. Some by way of specimen are quoted below :—

اگر سوہنی دے زمین و دم
 سر آورہ در ملک معی میں
 مرادین کہ مہمود نہ عاتی
 کہ کردم جو سو شہرو را صفت
 دہامی و حاقابی از اخستهان
 اگر باز آتید سد دامتاں
 کہ سو ایک دانشہ زیوان زیں
 قرا سد جو شروان سود در دگس
 اگر گرفت رو سد ایل و ماه
 سد ص علادین و پروز نہ اڑا
 کدامی یک دود ار ای ان چنان
 کہ یا ره سدن ما تو همد اشتہان
 اگر رانکہ بران دلی دا میں ان
 سد س اودن حلابر بزاد

اویس اور حہ سائھے حہاندار بود
 ستر جاں س ، ا سزا داد بود
 اگر حامی از مددح - اهان - ن
 - میں را بدل و گھر داد زین
 برا کمتر من بندہ زیلسان کہہ
 بود حالے - اهان - ن ۱ س
 حومدوح من از همه بہتر است
 مرا در - میں رکن دیگر است
 من ابریز گستم حوم خیرو سو
 کہ از حوتھو فرد دادم خیر

Similarly Shāh Abbās, the Great, had his panegyrist, one of whom Shāfi Taklū his favourite poet, was weighed in gold for the following beautiful verse and received his weight for his reward

اگرہ ن کسد ساغر و گرد و سب
 بطای ابرو - زانہ اوس

Whether an enemy drinks a cup of wine or
 does a friend
 Both do so at the arc of his tipsy eye-brow

At this other poets showed jealousy and wrote versified complaints to the Shāh, indirectly challenging the merits of their lucky comrade. The one written by Mullā Lutfl, another panegyrist of the Shāh's court, is well-worth quoting

اَهَا د کرم حهان وور کردي
 ملک دل عالمه • ج کردي
 که دهان، ه سواز خداه بود
 سردارتی، ه سواز « کردي

O king, thou hast illumined the world with
 thy generosity,
 Thou hast captured the kingdom of the heart
 of a whole world ;
 The poet who had become equal to the dust
 of the path (*i.e.*, whose merits were
 as low as dust),
 Thou hast picked him up, and made him
 equal with gold.

/ Still more prominent was Hakim Ruknuddin, popularly known as Hakim Ruknāī Kāshī, who composed under the pen-name 'Masīh' which suggests with his profession as a physician.¹ He was a competent poet and wrote over one lac (100,000) of verses according to the estimate of Persian biographers. On one occasion he noticed clear inattention

¹ Ibid, fol 134b

² Cf., Shifā'i, another court-physician and poet of Shah Abbas, the Great. His real name was Sharafuddin, and Shifā'i was his pen-name which, like 'Masīh' is appropriately suggestive with his profession. This taste for fine phraseology and choosing homogeneous words was (as is already shown on p. 64, supra), also prevalent at the Persian court, and was *de facto* brought to India from Persia itself, where, through slackness of poetical market, it did not develop so fully as it did in India under the liberal patronage of the Mughals.

and disregard on the part of Shah Abbas (vide supra, p 151) and consequently left his court for that of the Mughal, with the following verse addressed to the Shah:

گر دلک پکه و چشم باس گران باشد سویش
سام بیرون میروم حون آنکه از از

If the sky on a single morn makes its head
heavy against me
That very evening I walk out like the sun
from its dominion

He arrived at the Mughal court with his famous contemporary—Hakim Sadrī of Shiraz—(who subsequently had his title of *Mashhuz Zamān* conferred upon him by Jahāngir) in the last days of Akbar and was received by Abdurrahim Khān-i Khāndān who took them to the court. Jahāngir mentions them among his state physicians.¹

¹ About the same time another poet Shakib Isfahāni left his native town for Agra to enter the service of the Khān-i Khāndān.² Two of his verses from

Atashkada, p 239 [This shows the extent of the influence that the Mughal patronage in India exerted on the Persian court, and specially on the minds of its poets. It not only infused in them a spirit of *lud par tunc* but made them actually slight the patronage shown by the Safawī.]

Tarzuk-i-Jahāngiri, p 19

It is to be noted that the rewards by Khān-i Khāndān exceeded a lac of rupees. In addition to this, the latter secured for him a permanent jagir from Jahāngir's government.

Sāqī Nāma which he wrote in grateful acknowledgement of his master's liberal patronage are worthy of notice :

دیا ساقی آن آب حیدر آباد
ز امر حیدر خان علیان بند
کرده ایکن دیا...
کاخ در مسند نوں اونہ طماں شفایت

Come, o cup-bearer, give me that water of nectar,

Give me from the stream of the *Khān-i-Khānān*,

Alexander sought for it but did not get,
For it was in India and he went in the region of darkness

In the face of such strong evidences there remains little doubt that the real cause of this lull in the activities of poets in Persia is not in what is so easily explained by a certain class of writers. It surely lies in some other quarter. A Persian poet of the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp wittily points out the reason of this lack, as resulting from the Shāh's attention being paid to calligraphy, painting, and riding, in the following verse.

Bayāz-i-Mirzā Asad Bēg Turkman, MSS dated, Āgra, 8th Safar, 1146 A H , fol. 76a {My attention was first drawn to this work by Prof. A Qavl, FAm, M A , of Lucknow University, who also very kindly permitted the use of his copy which I believe is rare }

بے خوبی ترقی کر دے اول
کاٹ، نگار، فوجیلی، خر

Without trouble they have made a good
progress.

The scribe the painter the Qaznini and the
ass.

Another sober and somewhat stronger evidence of the lack of patronage to poets in Persia is to be found in the verse of Līlānī Shirāzī who was a contemporary of Shāh Ismā'īl and Shāh Tahmāsp. On one occasion when he happened to go to Tabriz, he composed a 'qanda' in praise of Amir Nājm II wherein he complained as follows

مے من صانی و ارباب صورت بے ذوق
نے من چوں، صراں - چوں ناسنا

My wine is pure, but the possessors of
sympathy are devoid of taste
My gold is unalloyed but the banker of
speech (judge) is blind

¹ Prof. B. - de (from Ahsanul Tawārīkh) Persian Literature in Modem Times, A.D. 1500-1924, p. 97
Cf. his remark

According to the Ahsanul Tawārīkh, Shāh Tahmāsp was in his youth much interested in calligraphy and painting he also liked riding on Egyptian asses, which curiously became fashionable and were adorned with golden trappings and gold-enamelled saddle-cloths

Bayhaqī-Mirza Asad Bīg fol. 57b, cf. supra.

The above view finds further support in the utterance of another poet Kausari of the court of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great. While extolling in the usual manner the virtues of the Shāh' in the masnawi entitled 'Farhād wa Shirin', the poet describes the dull atmosphere obtained in Persia, as compared with India, in the following plain and unmistakable language :

۲ کام کم سوچهی اهل ایران نار باب معامي
درین که ور خردادر سنهن دهیس
که رز گوم نازار نهنهن دیهیس
نهنهن دا قدر و مقدادر - هاده
معامي دا خردادرے ماده
دمائند اور اکابر تا ادارل
کسر دا دل دهیوس ور مایل
رس داشد نهنهن بې قدر و مقدادر
سود امروز شعر و هاعرى عار

¹ Cf.

۱۰۰ اور صفات شاه گیتی ستل شاه عباس خاد اللہ و امامانه
دو سر انزواز از ایا، الی + لوانی دولت عباس شاهی
چهار را خواب امن آمد ندیده * وہد عانیه نہ آرمیده
چنان د تم شد کونہ ارخلت * کہ ناہد ظلم رالی آئیں دلک
بلور انھ کے ناد اور ہم بد فوز * ر مادر ظلم می راید ولی کود
[B M MSS , Or 342, fol 12a]

² Ibid , foll 11a and 12a

[I am grateful to my friend, Dr A M Nizāmīddīn (Nizām scholar), for having copied these lines for me on my request from the R M codex]

مس کو پے طریقداری دریں ۵ در
 حکونه شد ہو ارتباں - ۴۰ من حور
 کہ در ایران کسے ناید بددار
 کہ بآند حلس معنی را طریقدار
 در ایران تلص گسته کام حلم
 بنداد سد سوے هندوستان
 همه علوظی مذاقان سکر خا
 بیلائے صند ازان کردند ماوا
 بر آدم کوئی ابیات حود را
 سده نازل ز عرش آیات حود را
 حو نظرِ حائب همان فرستم
 مقام حود ۱۱ هندوستان فرستم
 کہ نمود در - ۱۰ دادل دوران
 طریقدار ۱۱ من حز خلیخانان
 - ۱۲ من را ۱۳ سد حز او نکته - ۱۴ من
 حبهانرا ۱۵ مهدود او آماده ۱۶ من
 عالم هم کس (اهل عذر)
 کہ از ۱۷ - ت - ۱۸ ایس بھردار

Complaint¹ for the inattention of the people of
Iran towards the possessors of meaning (i.e. poets)

¹ His complaint is of special value as proceeding from one who was a favourite of Shah Abbas and a writer of elegies on the Imams. Cf. ..

In this dominion there is no purchaser of speech,
 No one is eagerly busy in the market of speech ;
 To speech value and weight remained not,
 Nor for meaning any customer remained ;
 From the greatest to the humblest, there is not,
 Any one whose heart is inclined to verse ,
 So much valueless and insignificant has become speech,
 That today poetry and the profession of a poet are a disgrace ,
 See that owing to want of market in this age,
 What tyranny was practised on the possessors of speech ,
 That in Persia no one appears,
 Who is a customer of the commodity of meaning ,
 In Persia the palate of my soul has become bitter,
 Now go I ought towards Hindūstān ,
 All the sugar-eating parrots,

'Mir 'Āqil poetically surnamed '*Kausarī*', was known for his devotion to the Imāms, which won him the favour of Shāh 'Abbis, I'" [Rieu, Catalogue of Persian MSS in the B M, Vol II, p 673]

This emphatically disowns the theory sponsored by later Persian biographers and relied upon by Prof Browne that the Shāh extended patronage exclusively to those who wrote in praise of the Imāms

Have for this reason made their abode in
 India
 hausari I am now determined that my verses
 Which are signs descended from the ninth
 heaven
 Like a drop towards the ocean I should send
 I should send my commodity to India
 That there is not among the learned of
 the age
 A customer of speech except the Ahūn :
 Ahānān
 For discourse there is not a weigher of
 subtle points except he
 For the world there is none like him a
 ready treasure
 In the universe there is none from among
 the possessors of art,
 Who is not profited by the hand of his
 generosity

This dullness of poetic market in Persia lasted for nearly three centuries and was a contrast with

Dullness of poetic market in Persia lasted for three centuries. India which through its better appreciation and patronage attracted all the topmost poets with only a few exceptions like Muhtasham Kāshī and Hākim Shīfā ! It was in fact with the appearance of Qajar dynasty of which Fath Ali Shah was the most conspicuous figure that the market of poetry in Persia again became brisk. He extended his patronage to poets and himself wrote poetry under the pen name Khāqān . This was the age when the Persian nobles and princes likewise extended their

pationage to poets.¹ The result of this appreciation was that the fire of poetic genius of the nation, which had for so long burnt low in poets under sullen despondency, sparkled out once more and lit up the horizon of that country. Simultaneously with it, emigration to India considerably diminished.² The most notable poet that Persia in this new era produced was *Qā'ānī*, who is justly regarded both in India and Persia as the last great poet of Persian language.³

¹ Cf —

- (i) Prince Hasan 'Ali Mirzā "Shujā 'us Sultanat," Governor of Khurāsān—patronised Qā'ānī, Farūghī, and others
- (ii) Hājī Mirzā Āqāsī, "Nāib us Sultanat" Prime Minister of Muhammad Shāh—also a patron of poets.
- (iii) Mirzā Taqī Khān, better known as "Amīr-i Kabīr" eulogised by Qā'ānī in numerous "gasā'īd" for his munificent liberalities to poets

² Cf other causes

- (i) Gradual replacement of Persian by Urdu, and its official recognition as the court language under the English
- (ii) Patronage shown by the Mughal princes and other nobles to Urdu poets.

The one prominent figure in modern Persian poetry, which begins roughly from the latter half of the 16th century A.D., is the epoch-making Qā'ānī the Shelley of Persia, as we may call him. No other poet is to be found in the whole range of Persian verse so rich in the vividness of imagery, the exquisite mastery over style, and above all, in the glow and verve of idiom and naturalness of simile and metaphor, as he. Qā'ānī's descriptions are some of the most consummate that exist in the Persian

The chief causes which appear more likely to be at the root, were (i) the attention of the Safawi Main causes to political, social and above all religious reform (which being of a dramatic and fanatical nature led to a general persecution of the literati in Persia) which were at the root on the one hand and (ii) the patronage shown by the Mughal in India on the other. The Mughal

language. Every line of his displays that fineness of detail and eye for close observation which characterise his writings. His descriptive poems stand out not only in his own composition but in the Persian verse as a whole. His poetry is confined chiefly to Qasida, Khamsa, Qita and Matla'at on topics of love, natural scenes, and praises and satires of kings and dignitaries. A few lines from his Khamsa may be quoted here by way of specimen, which specially appeal to every student of Nature a parallel of which is hard to find in the East among poets of Persian language but is frequently met with in the West in English poets like Tennyson, Shelley and Wordsworth.

دینا توکس بیان بز و مهاب دد
طرخ سلیل دراغ بز خ از تلب دد
آب نمروده بز سرمه بز و مهاب دد
باد باری بز - زیرا می آب دد
نیم شب آن پیغمبر کرد و بستانه خوار
بز بر آمد بخوا رایس اور بخوا
پند خود ریخته شک از بز کوچلو
ظر بصره آشند سرخ بصله از متل
نهاد، بمالخه مصله، کھف و هزار
طوطی و طاکس و طاپرها و سرخاب و سار

Court offered a home not only to poets but to scholars of all shades of opinion, including professional men like physicians, calligraphists, and painters. A large number of them, who in Persia refused to accept the Shia faith forced upon them, had to go abroad.

The eye of narcissus in the garden shone again as bright as quicksilver,
 The forelock of hyacinth in the jungle became again full of curl,
 The frozen water like silver once more melted into quicksilver,
 The spring breeze leapt, and the gall-bladder of autumn turned into water,
 In the dead of night it took its flight stealthily from the garden.
 Again, the banner of Spring cloud appeared on the summit of the mountain,
 The flood hurled down the stones from the top of the hills;
 Again, the young birds rushed in glee from every nook,
 The dove, the grouse, the quail, the partridge, and the nightingale,
 The parrot, the peacock, the duck, the diver, the goose,
 and the crane
 The life-like picture depicted in conformity with Nature, the fiery poetical glow of language, and the introduction of original and quaint ideas even in such a common and world-wide subject as the appearance of the garden, during the dominion and sway of the vernal epoch, are qualities which had almost disappeared from the Persian composition in the 18th century. Along with the exquisite beauty of diction in the above descriptive sketch, Qā'īn's presentation is absolutely free from unnatural exaggerations so common with poets in his day. His graphic sketch of Nature and her workings is such as might be

into exile. Some went to Turkey and the Central Asian provinces, but many came to India to which they ever afterwards kept on emigrating.

given by a young English poet without hesitation. For as we compare one stanza from the *Adonais* of Shelley
The sun and stars descend their noon-tide
The earth, the trees, the meadows disappear
Fresh leaves and flowers deck the dead season's bier
The sun and stars now pass by every track
And load their noon, like a sad field and bier
And the sun is buried and the golden snake
Like unto him born of Europe, out of their trance awake.

Qizil's poetry with its -undiful ease and flow does not appear to belong to the era in which he lived, but exhibits a taste which prevailed in the early and the middle ages. His fidelity to nature combined with the charm of *Rodaki* and *Zahir* the patrons of *Hishmi*, and the vivacity and exuberance of *Farrukhi* and *Manschahri* preponderates in his composition, and in this respect he appears to be a poet more of the 17th and 18th centuries than of the 19th when he actually lived. Even in his figurative indulgence which is a characteristic of the 17th and 18th century poets, his supremacy over his colleagues is marked to so far as he has kept aloof from the vices rampant in their composition. His artistic display of the language and his metaphor and simile have a charm and a reality which do not exist in the work of modern poets, and were long displaced by frivolous attempts at word and meaning and the inordinate decorative touches which had disfigured the fair face of Persian poetry in the later age. In Qizil, therefore we have a revival of the middle and early poetry and he may be justly said to represent *Farrukhi*, *Manschahri*, and *Zahir* in the 19th century.

being attracted by its superior literary support. It is by this process and the force of

Qā'ani's elegies are also famous for their originality of form, and style of address. They are a deviation from the old established path in a more conspicuous form than is exhibited in his panegyric poetry. Some specimen lines from his elegy on Imām Husain are quoted below.

بلوچ خون کے دیدا چ اب دود د چرا
از غم کدام عم غم ایلان کردا
نامش چه نوہ ین ز شزاد که ار علی
نامش که نوہ قادم عیمن که ۶۷-القی
خون شد میزد شد بیجا د ۹۰ مار پنه
کے عاشر محرم پنهان نہ برمد
۹۰، ۹۱ شد نہ دور چه ۹۲ ایام وقت ملکور
شد از جلو بیویدة سرش نی فی ار قفا
سیواراب ۹۳ شد نہ کس آش نداد داد
که ۹۴ از چه ۹۵ ز س چه مکما سا
مکاروم شد ۹۶ بیٹے ۹۷ دوم نہ نک
کلکش چه بُد هدایت و پارش که نہ مکا

What rains ? The blood , who rains ? The eye ; how ? Day
and night , why ?

Out of grief , what grief ? The grief for the Sultan of
Kerbala,

What was his name ? Husain , from whose parentage
was he ? From that of 'Ali,

Who was his mother ? Fatima , who was his grandfather ?
The Prophet Muhammad.

What happened to him ? He suffered martyrdom ,
where ? In the desert of Marya,

When ? On the 10th of Muharrum , secretly ? Nay, publicly

such circumstances further strengthened by the ties of political and social inter relations uniting the

Was he killed at night ? Nay in the day what hour ?
At the hour of noon,
Was his head cut off from the front ? Nay from behind.
Was he killed with his thirst quenched ? No did none
give him water ? Yea, they did,
Who did ? Shinar from what stream ? From the stream
of death.
Did he fall a martyr to oppression ? Aye had he (com-
mitted) any fault ? None
What was his mission ? Guidance and who was his friend ?

600

Qā'īn says Browne "is by general consent the most notable poet produced by Persia in the 19th century. He is one of the most melodious of all the Persian poets, and his *rhythm* and of the language is wonderful, but he lacks high aims and noble principles."

The latter remark of the learned critic is mainly due to the allegation that Qā'ī al Ḥaq was of short temper and his pen did not desist from disparaging those whom he had once praised in his *qasīdah*. In support of this contention B. quotes one *istiqāt* of Hāfi Mirzā Āqāsh, who, during his *ayyām* Governorship of Khurāsān, was extolled for his piety and justice by Qā'ī al Ḥaq. But when the Mirzā fell from power having incurred the displeasure of the emperor Muhammad Shah, and his Ministerial rank and authority passed on to another noble *Līlāl al Mulk* Mirzā Taqī Khan, better known as *Amr-i-habir* Qā'ī al Ḥaq, for reasons not yet fully disclosed discredited the former and praised the latter then.

لیوپس کاٹب اے علم بخوبی می پیدا ہو
کہ گھنے درجے عرصہ قریب ہو کوہزارها
ذمی سدر نامور مہینہ ایک دن
ٹوں کلکڑہ تارہ وغیرہ میں دو حصے ہوں

two countries that the court of the Mughal eventually became completely Persianised, and in fact every-

بچاۓ ظالیم و قی و دارے عادلے تھی
کہ سومنار میتھی کندہ اوتھا رہا

It is pleasing tonight, O dear, that we drink wine in memory
of Jamshid,
Because the empire of Persia has become firm like a chain
of mountains,
Through the efforts of our reputed Minister, the greatest
Amīr and the giver of justice
(From whom) the doors and gates of castles and fortresses
are kept wide open,
In place of a cursed tyrant, sat a just and God-fearing person.
That the pious believers take pride in him

Qā'ani purged the Persian poetry from that irksome hyperbole
and laboured and pedantic style which the later poets,
during the last two centuries before him had commonly
adopted as their motto His verses are full of pathos and
spontaneous and natural tendencies as opposed to a terse and
affected style formed by clever devices subtleties of figures
of speech, and rhymed diction His distinctive feature of
writing, and the reforms he introduced in the art of versifica-
tion, are summed up as follows

(1) Abstention from fatuous and abortive exaggeration in
his flight of thought as could be seen in the following
lines reproduced here by way of sample

دیور و دی کہ دم دی ار حرم و آنے اطا
او کل دادھاں تند اپن کلر انگرا
میر از رضاۓ ها که خوبید بھاں و دل
آباد پڑھم هر دو - مانش - مقرنا
نادھ صدر نواں و نہ اندیھن ذاتوں
دولتھ جوان و حکم دوان یار بردہ دوا

thing language, custom fashion food and dress,
was adopted after the Persian style and taste

نهره زیب و خوش سده تسم همانیں
لعله نسبت داشتند این سامان میرزا

وله

ای مسٹر ۶۰۰ براز ای ای سلطان
دی بیخ بو ریختن تراز مرد میباشد

کو صافیت تبر تو خ کرو پیش
پیکل مسد الدن موش میرزا میرزا

پک شد مار اسے مرا دعو دیکھو
پک بیندی خل اسے مرا میو خ اشنا

وله

از آن خواب که گریندیش کسے قب کر
کند نظره بپنهان آب میول را

(B) Remarkable felicity of expression and naturalness of his simile and metaphor as contained in the following lines

ز کل و سه ۴۷۲ بک زانها در مدن سترها

پیروز سعادیه ب آجیا عجیبه در آینه رها

در زلک تیغدار او بچشم افکاره
در چشم که الک روشن کند سرها

هر چشمی پرور در اصراره پرور
همی اپنے پنکه کشیده سفت ندا رها

پرور سو بیکل نشست الک تیریان
دو ستریان نظر خلوت دوسرویں سترها

پنجه و سه از ایمه طرف خوبیها ز لک خوبیها
و پا کم سه حیرمیها ز لک خوبیها

ز سنت اگر ندیده جلس بده خوارها
پیروز کاهه که نه سهل ایه ز لک خوارها

که چون خواره من چند ز سنت کوشیده رها

It is a fact, historically true, that the Persian language had not gained so complete a hold on the

- (iii) His pun and figures of speech are more spontaneous, graceful, and dignified in character, than those of his contemporaries who are content merely with the ornate diction and display of words at the sacrifice of good taste A few instances are quoted below

آه، کروہت اور میں تھادہ تو بتیم
بتیم ساتھ پروردگار صاحب را
اور آہوی بیویں : تان آہوی زدیں
تا خانہ چو مینو کنی ارشاد و بیوی
آہوی بیگر ایں ۴۰۵ کاکھو تو گیرند
آہو چہ کنی اے ۴۰۶ شیراں تو بیوی
بہ نوع انسان آسان بوہ معاہنش
کہ بربہ سایر انواع نوع انسان را
پھر کوکھ ۴۰۷ تو کوک کوک تو
۴۰۸ تو کوک ۴۰۹ آہان گردان را

- (iv) Continuity and fulness in his description, with faithful representation of the subject, which is wonderfully attractive and appealing to heart

ای وقتہ پئیے مید عوالن سوے ۴۱۰
نار آسوی ہوہ پئیے مید دل ما
گر تیر دنی در دل ما زن نہ در آہو
در دم نہی ہو رہ ماننہ نہ ۴۱۱
نہ شہر کم ار ۴۱۲ حاد نہ ما کوتار ار آہو
مید دل ماکن اگرت مید ۴۱۳
آہوے بیانل نہ بود عہد بیانل
مانیم کہ ۴۱۴ دیم د ۴۱۵ دیم د ۴۱۶
اے آہوے انسی چہ کنی آہو د ۴۱۷
وہیں طرکہ کہ ۴۱۸ یوی چہ کنی مید تھا
سادر تو گریزیم و گریزہ ر تو آہو
او مید تو عائل شدہ ما مید تو ۴۱۹

Mughal court, nor on the people of Hindūstān before

آهوره بکیرا همه که هر پر گیلند
آهور چه کان ای همه هنرهاش بپر عینها
۷ - ۷۷ آهور سه هبھرا آهور پوش
سه دردی و ۷۷ گرد و سه کوی د سه سه
وله

ماه رسلانه آمد اے تری سین بز
بکیریو د سزا سند و سلطانه لایلز
و اجلاب طرب را بز از مطلب^۱ بیروز
ذلک پیش که ۷۷ که شکونی رسد از فر
دله ۷۷ فرسوده که پارپیده ۷ مطلب
بزه آر و بده کانه مکرانم دو سه سوزه
فلولیں پرور خواهم و آمریش مادر
سے بخوبی ایم ما رولایت که این ماه
لرمانی خدا هاره د یاریخ پیسر
دو روز حرام است به اجمع و نیکه
رلناکه مواف بخوبه به شب ۷۷ مادر
بیش لاده سانو توان خوبه که تا منم
با هبھرا بدان گردن پیاپید که ۷ سنتی
تا هلم هم گز بز تکلیں ملست ۷ سر
تا هلت شکونی که می بخوردہ ۷۷
آریه چه عبر کس را از داز سر
سے ملھیم ایم اسما ولی وجہ میم نیمه
دنه کن کن لایا هبھر از مردہ بولکر
تا هلت سه د سلس و سعاده و سطح
دان دردہ هنرلرزی د آر ذکر مطر

(۱) His productive, rich, and luxuriant style with his wonderful command of the language is more than what could be achieved by any Persian poet during the last two centuries.

the advent of Bābur, which is synchronous with the

before him. This is evident from the sweetness inherent in his poetry, and his uses of verbs with their auxiliaries in distinctive and varied meanings, which have acquired the bearing and stamp of idiom. For instance, he uses the verb اتھ in so many flexible ways and with such clever turns that one cannot but admire his *ijtihad*. The following lines deserve special notice.

اے خواہ دو، کہ از غایبہ دیوبش نہ
ڈھپیں سرما زدہ در کام بیوار اتھ
بے۔ ای مختم و شاہ از خاہ عال آکاہ
میں تواریخ کے میں پوریہ ز اسرار اتھ
هم خداوند و ہم خاتا ز خاہ عال آکاہ
ایں دنیں دنیں دیاہی بسیار اتھ
خود بڑ اپناۓ ہوں بار خدا ستارا
لے دوں سائے او باید ہار اتھ

- (vi) He was a genius, and proficient in three languages, Turkish, French, and Arabic and made a free use of their vocabulary in his poetical composition, more than any other poet of Persia ever did before
- (vii) He uses many redundant words (اعلیٰ، ج) with the air of a *Mujtahid*. Not only stray instances of same are to be met with in his poetry here and there, as is the case with other poets, but that he picks up a word and makes it a regular . e.g., cf., his long *qasida* beginning with

آمد دوں دوہی ہی سے گے جی
جی، فرو گئے دو گئے دو گئے جی،

He also invented and introduced stammering poems, depicting in words the halting articulations, stops and rapid repetitions of a habitual stammerer. It was a bold step for him to take in the 19th century, which no other poet ventured before him.

Safawi persecution as it did afterwards

- (viii) The sweetness and melody inherent in his *qasida* is most remarkable and presents a new phase in the art of qasida-writing which actually belonged to *ghazal*.
- (ix) He widened the scope of Persian poetry by allowing *sufi* and admitting obsolete words and new sets of compounds and constructions in his composition, a step which befitted him as an *pir* or a recognised leader of poets.
- (x) He is a great force in the field of 19th century Persian literature. His style characterised by freshness of expression, reverberation of thought, and naturalness of simile is unique in the life and literature of Qajar Persia. Nay the service rendered by him to Persian poetry as a whole is most remarkable and stands by itself.
- (xi) He revived the poetry of the early and the middle age and combined in his *qasida* the merits of Rūdakī, Farrokhī, Manuchahri, Attwārī, and Zāhir adding to them a charm all his own. He thus raised the standard and dignity of Persian poetry which had fallen so low in Persia since after the coming away of Abu Tālib Kalmī to India and is regarded as the *last great poet of Persian language* a position justified by his prolific and many-sided genius.
- (xii) In prose his work "Jāzīyāt" written after the manner and style of Sa'dī's *Gulistan* is a reflection and a blot on his good name and does him no credit as a prose writer. It is full of newious anecdotes, and reveals his easy life and freedom of thought which he loved so well.

CHAPTER IX

He was by nature tender-hearted and w^s, towards ed more and more, as he advanced in years

Wave of pessimism in the latter part of his life due to the influence of religious atmosphere obtained in India

as inclin-
Sūfism and renunciation He devout, desire for the company of th^rial world, and his aversion to this mate^t too clearly had manifested themselves frequent visits on several occasions His freq^s associa- to the tombs of saints, and h^g auguries

matters of from the *Diwan* of Hāfi^z on important e most part state, domestic, and personal, was for th^ere during under the influence of the Indian atmosph^{ady} a most his stay in Hindūstān, which was alre^dgress and noted country in the East for spiritual p^wthe Persian the religious activities of its people I had found mysticism, since its very advent in India ; populace, a warm reception by the religious-mind^{ht} with the and this joint working of Muslim thoug^{ht} at the Hindū zeal for devotional practices, aim^pritual at-purification of the soul, had created a s^{er}, however atmosphere, the effects of which no foreign^{er} be, could stiff-hearted and indifferent he might^{her contem-} escape Jauhar, Gulbadan Begum, and o^d instances^{ned} by Abul of his pessimistic views The one record Fazl is reproduced as follows .

و اکثر اوقات بہ زبان الدس ۱۴۰۷ھ رت حہانہالی
 حتی آسیانی ذکر سفر ملک ۱۴۰۸ھ مکث و بہ
 هادت ۱۴۰۹ھ خوبیش این معلی را کہ منانی
 خلاف هالم انتظام است مکروہ داشته - مذکور
 ۱۴۱۰ھ حالی نبی سد دریں ولا بدکر آن
 خوشوقت می ۱۴۱۱ھ - هما نا کہ بہ بی گاه باطن
 ۱۴۱۲ھ دان نلش آن بہتو انداخته بود از ۱۴۱۳ھ
 روزے ۱۴۱۴ھ و ۱۴۱۵ھ کلام ۱۴۱۶ھ - الحعام گنتی سنانی
 فردوس مکانی میرمودند کہ حضرت فردوس مکانی
 در ۱۴۱۷ھ خود مذکور میرمودند کہ نلان ملازم من
 ۱۴۱۸ھ کہ هرگاه خواہستان گورستان هرپس بلظر
 پر می آید مرا مدل مردیں می شود و پر تلوگن میرمودند
 کہ ما چون دھلی و مزاروت آنرا مساعدہ می کشم
 ۱۴۱۹ھ او بناہ می آید کہ حہ خوس مددات و پر
 همان نتیجے کی کہ ۱۴۲۰ھ ملک بنا می سولد ۱۴۲۱ھ
 از ۱۴۲۲ھ اخ طاب می فرمودند کہ امریکہ بعد از فراغ
 هادت - بحری حالتی دست ۱۴۲۳ھ بود و ۱۴۲۴ھ ظہی این
 رہامي بہ زبان داد

رامی

یارب بکمال ایا خاصم گرہان

والک بتوتایق خواصم گرہان

^۱ Akber Name, Vol. I, p. 435 (Mahiraja Patiala edition,
 Lucknow 1884 A.H.)

از جمل ۷۶ کار دل ایگا، شرمن
دو اندی و دنی و آن و لام گردان

And often times passed on the holy tongue of the late king (whose abode is in Paradise), the talk of travel to the next world , and against his old pleasing habit, this talk which is opposed to the orderly government of this world, and which he did not like to be mentioned in his sublime assembly before, he was pleased with its mention in these days Verily, since on the heart of the secret-knowing king, the effects of such thoughts had already cast their shadows, therefrom the king did one day praise and vouchsafe for the truthful utterance of the late conqueror, *Firdaus-Makāni* (Bābur), saying, that *Firdaus-Makāni* once in his assembly mentioned that a certain servant of his said one day, “ Whenever the sleeping Yard of the Cemetery of Ghaznī comes into my sight, I am inclined to die ” And after this, the king added, “ When I see Delhi and its tombs I recollect the speech of the late king—how nice and true he said !” And near about the time when he was to turn his face towards the eternal kingdom, he addressed to some of his attendants, “ Today, after the morning prayers, something happened, and the angel of inspiration put this quatrain on my tongue —

O God, with Thy plentiful grace select me
for Thy nearness,
Make me acquainted with the secrets of
Thy chosen people ,

Through my oppressive wisdom my heart
was rent
Call me Thy mad lover and free me from
all cares.

The extent to which he had allowed himself to be led by Sufi tie ideas is determined by his deeds of wilful surrender to Sufistic diets and in endeavouring to tread in the path of attaining spiritual solace and viewing this world and its affairs with the detachment of a recluse. Like an ascetic he occasionally gave up meat-eating and lived entirely on vegetable. In the hope of attaining that purity of soul and its secret link with the spirits of the saints which according to a class of thinkers is the exclusive prerogative of the devout abstainers alone. Abul Fazl writes thus of Humārūn a vowed abstinence from all animal food until his second conquest of Hindūstān merely with the object of appeasing the saints and invoking their blessings for the success of his arms.

His Sufi tendencies are
marked throughout
the reign of an ardent
recluse

و حکوب حهانی که از ابتداء اس سفر مبارز
نه دفعی و نعم خندوستان ترل تناول حموانی فرموده
پتوچهار روحانی ۱۷۴۲م می تعودند اصره کمال
انسانا بصلے آورند -

And his Majesty the Warden of the world
who from the beginning of this auspicious

journey until his reaching Delhi and the conquest of Hindūstān, having abstained from all animal food, sought victory through spiritual attentions, evinced the greatest pleasure today.

Along with his abstinence from the animal food, he also used to take auguries from the *Diwān* of Hāfiẓ,¹

¹ The practice of consulting omens from the *diwān* of Hāfiẓ was prevalent in Persia also. The belief of the Persians in *tafsīwul* was so great that they gave the names of *Lisān'-ul-Ghaib* (Invisible tongue), and *Tarjumān-ul-Aṣrār* (Interpreter of mysteries), to Hāfiẓ's *diwān*. Like the Mughal emperors in India, the Persian royal house also, in spite of their disbelief in the Sunni *tarīqat* and in Sufis, used to take auguries from the *diwān* on important private and official matters. The *Latīfa-i-Gharbiyya* (a book written by a Persian noble and poet of the town of Dīrāb, printed at Tīhrān in 1804 A.H.) mentions several instances of such auguries drawn from *Hafiz* by the Persian kings. Cf. —

(i) Shāh Ismā'īl I, the promulgator of the Shī'a faith in Persia, who even went to the length of destroying the tombs of Sufis, decided to consult Hāfiẓ's *diwān* about the destruction of the latter's tomb. The result of this augury was the following verse .

جواز سر نہاد - مایل دارم
پونی فلم شاہم و سوگد صورم

(ii) Shāh Tahmāsp one day lost his ring, and consulted Hāfiẓ which opened at the following verse ,

دلے لے غریب نام و دارم دارم
کم موده و موده فم دارم

believing in their efficacy just as the ancient Romans used to consult Vergil when they were in doubt as to the proper course of action to be pursued by them. While yet in Cabul after his return from Persia he consulted the *dīwān* about his success in his impending attack on Hindūstān to regain his lost kingdom from Sher Shāh. A detailed account of this augury and his personal faith in its efficacy is given in the following extract:

هنا هریت، الا بصر صواب مالک هند،
لهم فرمودند، آن نور در ازدی یعنی حضرت

(III) Similarly Shāh Abbās II. like Hūmāyūn, once took an augury from Hāfi's *dīwān* regarding the conquest of Azarbāijān, of which the capital is Tabriz. The following verse was the remarkable one:

مران، ترس گرفت پیر چشم
وی خیلی داشت، ای ای خیلی داشت

¹ Ibid., p. 409.

NOTE.—The difference in the Persian and the Indian method of taking *azm* may be noted.—In India the popular method is to open the *dīwān*, after reciting *fatiha* with or without *durud*, and invoking the *bātmān* on the departed soul of Hāfi. The first verse of the open page on the right is generally taken as Hāfi's response to the query. If the answer is not clear the 7th line of the same page is the next best one to be counted upon. But if neither gives satisfaction six further pages are turned, and the first verse of the 7th page is accepted as final.

شاهنامه ای را که مهر ماه سری آن سری دران هنگام
بادت بودای واردہ مال و ماه ماه دود و عقل
کامل آن درگ کو دیں از احاطه احتما اخرون مقصد
بین توحات موری و معنوی نهاده ماده های اقبال
را مولان در آوردند و در روز دوچه عالی مدیوان لان
الفی درک و اول نهاده چون امیر ملکیم از هر ده
می و میان املاک طهور می داشت میاندیان
مشارت از انس و آفاق شهردار ربان مدهد آوازه
می کردند اراده این باشد که مارست در ر
صنه اوی که در نوری این دلیل تواده شد
در این مذکور قسم دوست -

در حالت

دولت از مرع مایون طلب و ایش او
را که ماراغ و رغنم تهییر می دهد

اگرچه حرف میدان عالم معامله دامی این کلام
حقه قرده ان را برویل و میسرت حرها بدمی
دوباری زایسته ممال دهند آرای متعمل بعادت

In Persia the method of opening the *dīwān* at random is more common, and the condition of reciting *fātiha* is not considered necessary, though *durūd* is generally read simultaneously with opening the book. Some take the first line on which the eye falls, be it on the right or on the left page, while others consider the first verse of the ode, which begins on the right page, as the proper answer.

سندد اما دوره منان بارگه دايس فھرواني اين نظم
 بدیع را نویسد خلاص امریک و مردا - ۱۴۷۰
 حضرت سه اعمی دریافتند مروي انتظار طبران هلو
 اين طایفه سی آنام فرمودند و ۲۰ رت حمله ایانی
 ایام عراؤالوینای عنایت الهی و ۱۵ ل به
 حمله القبیل سارت احتمالی نمودند با اندکی از مردم
 که بسته عزار کشید بمعاهدت بسیاری از خود غصی
 که سوار محتسبان عقول نگذاشتند فرمودند -

In the above-quoted extract one could see the wonderful effect exercised by the miraculous verse of Hafiz. Not only it filled the heart of Humayun and his generals with hope but that the confidence it infused was so great that he marched without even adequate preparation with a number less than 3000 foot and cavalry all told¹ on such a big mission as the re-conquest of Hindustan.

¹ This original figure was substantially increased later and many more joined him on his way to Hindustan. The warring factions in India jealous of one another's power were a great incentive to Humayun, who entered the country unopposed and marched as far as Lahore without facing any great opposition. Other natural factors were the death of Salim the powerful Pathan King and the invitation sent to Humayun by the disaffected Umaras of Delhi and Agra to come to Hindostan and occupy his father's throne. Almost all the tribes of the Pathans were engaged in the civil war. It was therefore the most opportune moment for Humayun to return.

One day, when he was out for hunting in Cābul, he expressed to his nobles the anxiety of his mind to regain his lost throne, and consulted them as to the advisability of leading an attack on India with the meagre men and material he could collect. Those who had lived in India in the heyday of his fortune, and enjoyed the comfort and

His reading omens in the phenomena of *Nature*, and his belief in their symbolic truth.

wealth of the country, offered to consult the old method of divination, *viz.*, to send a courier ahead, who should go and return after taking down the names of the first three persons he meets. The king readily consented to this and sent three horsemen, instead of one, all in the direction of Hindūstān but separate from one another, who were to return immediately after meeting the first person each, and report to him their names individually. The first brought the news that he met a trader named *as, p* fortune. The other said that he met a traveller by name, *sl, o* object of the heart. The third reported that he came across a peasant whose name was *- sl, s* auspiciousness. The conclusion drawn was that the king should immediately start upon his campaign, unmindful of the number of his army, as success was sure to attend on him. He therefore put himself to this task at once and invited recruits who readily responded to his call under the said belief. Thus in the month of Safar in 962 A.H., he marched from Cābul, and was joined by many veteran soldiers on his way to Hindūstān.

His keen sense of giving justice to the poor against the high-handedness of the officials had led

Invention of tab-i-adl (or drum of justice) which he had ordered to be placed in the outside corridor of the royal palace. Any one from the highest to the humblest in life could approach him without fear of molestation and use that drum to draw the attention of the king in person towards the tyranny shown to him by any official enemy robber or noble of the court. This mode of giving justice was appreciated and copied by his successors in India, the most notable among whom was his grandson Jahangir. He had a gold chain measuring 30 zira' in length with 60 bells one end of which was tied to the parapet of the royal dome of his fort at Agra and the other to a mile-stone fixed on the bank of the Jamuna. Humayun's drum of Justice is

¹ A Persian yard.

C.L. Jabbagh's own statement

بعد از جلوس اولیه همکنی که از من مانع گشت بتوان زنگنه
مثل بود که اگر ۲۰٪ میله دلار اسالتس در ناده سرواهی و فرور
رس سرم رسیدگان و مکالمه ایند و مذاهنه وزنده آن مکالمه
خود را بدهی زنجیر رسانیده سلطه چنبله گردند تا مداره آن پایه
آشنا گردد - دفع آن بده نیم نس - از ملکی تدبیح مردم
الجهنم سازند موافق سر طراغ اور نصت زنک - و زن آن
چهارمین ... یک سره پر تکثیر هلا یونک لند آگر اسوار
ساخته سر دیگر تاکثیر هرها بردا یزد میک سانده که نصب شده بود
معکم ۱۳۰ =

[Tweaking (J-hangin)]

described with its details of procedure by Abul Fazl as follows —

و از میان این اخترات طبل عدالت دود که اگر داد و نمای
را نا کسی ساخته می شد یک بود... جوب نهادل
عیرون و اگر داد و از دادم و سول داده بود دو بود...
آن کار میکرد و اگر ما و حبایت اور احاله می کرد... داد و
در داده بوده بودت ناچار را داد آورده... و اگر نا کسی
دوی دو داده باشد جهاد بود... داده طبل را ناده
گردانید...

And from amongst the inventions of his Majesty was the *drum of Justice* to the effect that if any seeker of redress had enmity with any one, he would strike the *drum* with the stick once , and if he was oppressed for not supplying fodder, he would do this act twice , and if his articles of subsistence were seized by some tyrant, or carried off by some thief, he would make the *drum* sound thrice , and if against some one he had a claim for shedding blood (murder of his kinsmen), he would cause the *drum* to sound loud four times

His generosity and benevolence were great , and his clemency for his brothers, who proved a constant source of trouble and a menace to the peaceful government of his empire, was extraordinary, and carried beyond

His general character

¹ Akbar Nāma, Vol I pp 431-35 (Mahārāja Patiala edition Lucknow 1951 A.H.)

the limits of prudence and justice which he owed to the State. He was a lover of learning and a patron of poets and prose-writers of his day. He inherited from his father the poetic genius which is displayed in his *masnawi*, *ruba'i* and other metrical compositions. He was unostentatiously religious and his faith in providence was remarkable. In his days of fortune as well as in distress he did not lose the balance of mind and remained happy in his submission to the will of God. In exile when he was persuaded to embrace the Shi'a faith in return for the promised Persian help to reinstate him on his lost throne of Hindūstān he had uttered the following

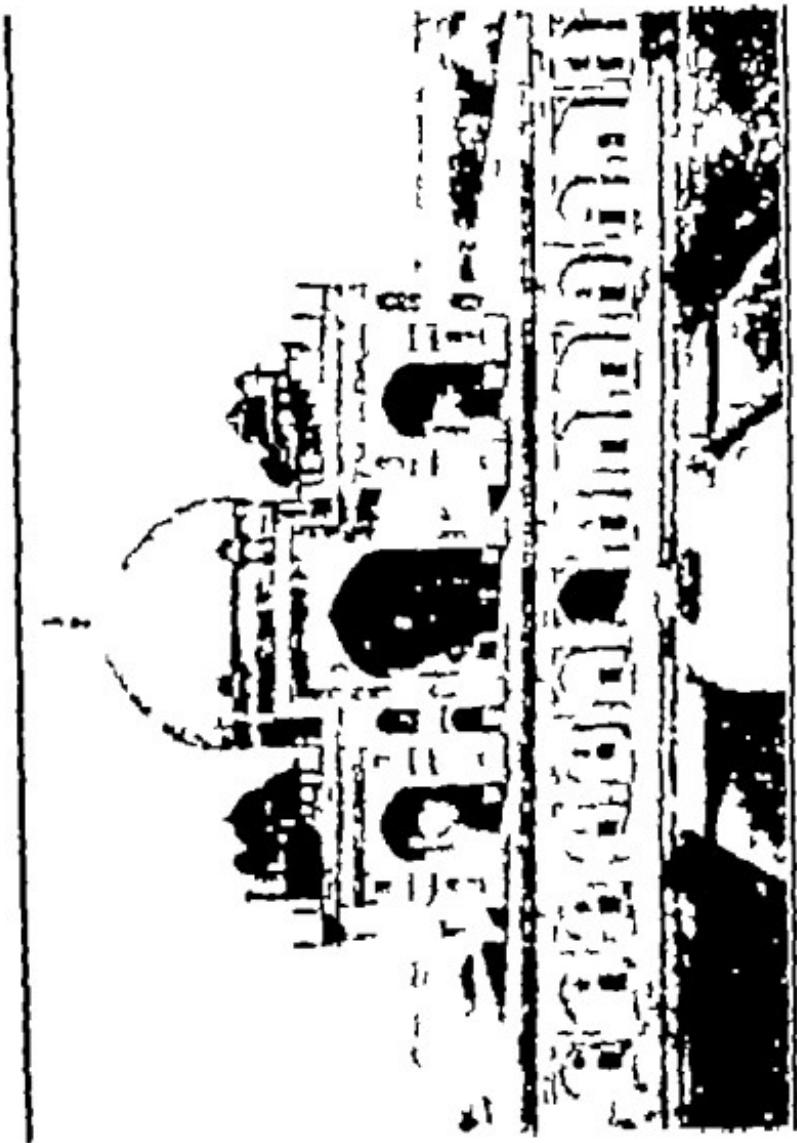
ما بدین حود قائم مقام = م' ام د م' و مارا
 خداون آرزوئے پادشاهی عه' و میرخه = بارا
 خدا سے عزول است' دل خرد را نہ اور = ام -

We are firm in our religion. We came and we do not even entertain much desire for kingship. And whatever there is, it is with the will of God the Great and the High. We have bound our heart to Him.

In battle he was valiant, and in peace his forgiving nature never yielded to any strict measures which the times demanded not so much through weakness of mind as through gentleness and nobility of spirit.

During his flight through the sandy desert of Sindh, when his men were almost dying with thirst His chivalry and every one ran mad for water, news arrived of Shēr Shāh's troops' near approach. Humāyūn, at this juncture, ordered all his men, who were in a fit condition, to halt and engage the enemy in battle ; while the rest whose condition was sore were directed to move forward to a safe distance with women and children 115 in number. He kept the command of the fighting force directly in his own hands, and rode in front like a warrior giving heart to his tired, unwilling, and ill-equipped men The enemy, however, did not appear on the scene, and Humāyūn rode back to the female section to communicate the good news of the enemy's non-appearance

Even in his fall he was great, and showed the same elevation of character as he did when he wore a crown.



Town or Hexbury Old Drawing

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